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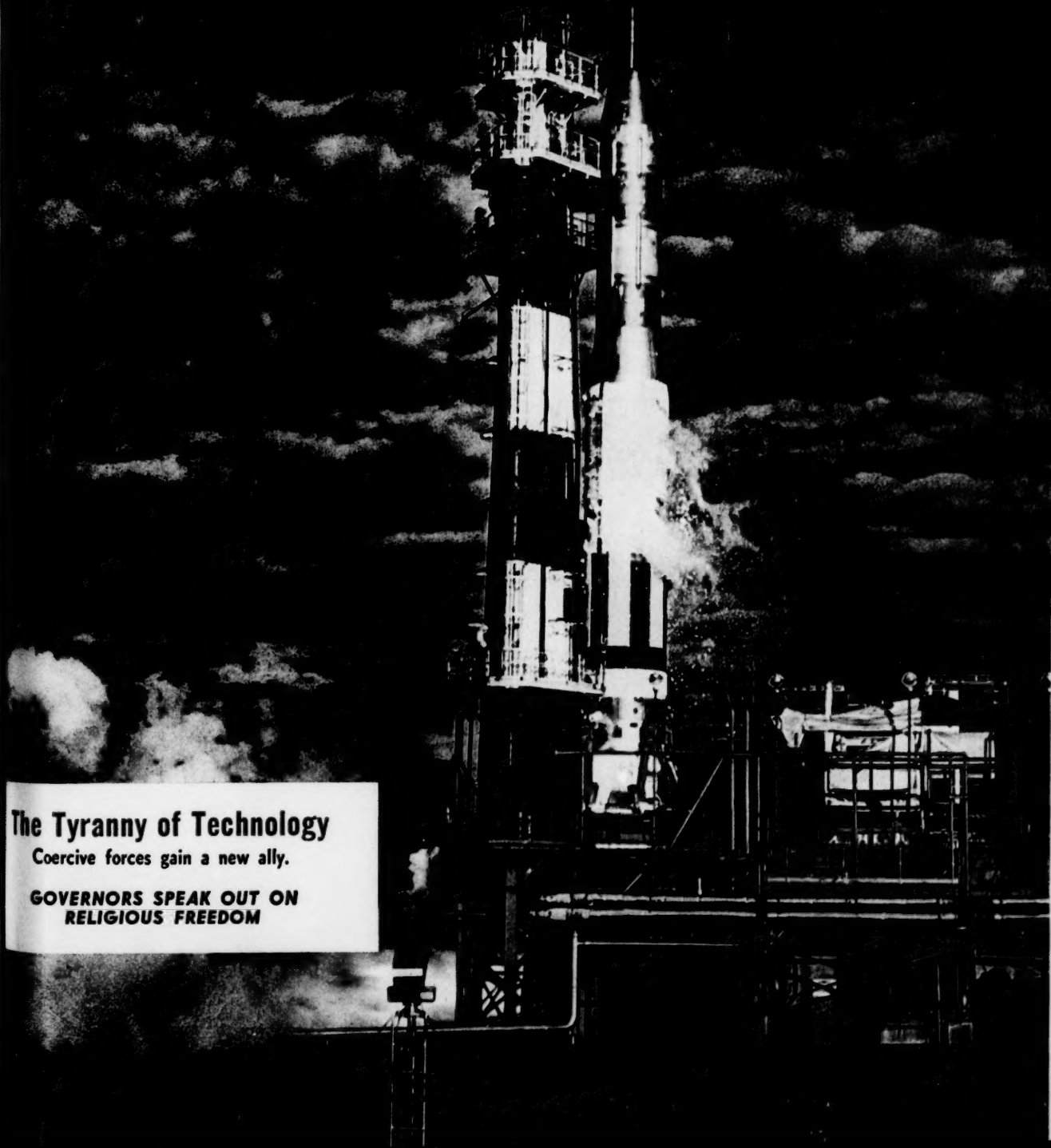
50 CENTS


LIBERTY

The Tyranny of Technology

Coercive forces gain a new ally.

**GOVERNORS SPEAK OUT ON
RELIGIOUS FREEDOM**





Declaration of Principles

INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS LIBERTY ASSOCIATION

We believe in religious liberty, and hold that this God-given right is exercised at its best when there is separation between church and state.

We believe in civil government as divinely ordained to protect men in the enjoyment of their natural rights, and to rule in civil things; and that in this realm it is entitled to the respectful and willing obedience of all.

We believe in the individual's natural and inalienable right to freedom of conscience: to worship or not to worship; to profess, to practice, and to promulgate his religious beliefs, or to change them according to his conscience or opinions, holding that these are the essence of religious liberty; but that in the exercise of this right he should respect the equivalent right of others.

We believe that all legislation and other governmental acts which unite church and state are subversive of human rights, potentially persecuting in character, and opposed to the best interests of church and state; and therefore, that it is not within the province of human government to enact such legislation or perform such acts.

We believe it is our duty to use every lawful and honorable means to prevent the enactment of legislation which tends to unite church and state, and to oppose every movement toward such union, that all may enjoy the inestimable blessings of religious liberty.

We believe that these liberties are embraced in the golden rule, which teaches that a man should do to others as he would have others do to him.

INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS LIBERTY ASSOCIATION

6840 Eastern Avenue, Takoma Park
Washington 12, D.C.

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LIBERTY

WASHINGTON
D.C.

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

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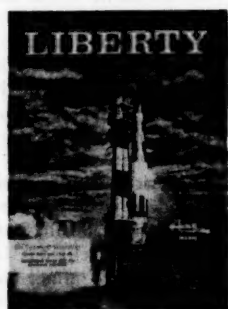
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OUR COVER PICTURE: That's a Titan ICBM there, waiting to hurl its five-stories-high frame into the sky and live it up for a few minutes before plunging to a spectacular end in the missile graveyard called atmosphere. Time was when rockets were only glorious playthings that gladly burnt out their innards for the enjoyment of small boys (and not a few dads) on a star-spangled Fourth of July. Cometh World War II; cometh V-2's and death to cities. Cometh Sputnik and Mutnik and Vanguard, and Lunik, and frost-touched highways to the stars. And new Fourths of July. And new rockets to burn out for the enjoyment of small boys. But when the last spark dies and the nose points down, cometh, too, a new fear—of fiery-red nose cones and splitting atoms. For rockets have grown up, but all men have not. And some do not know why rockets are shot off on the Fourth of July.

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THE INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS LIBERTY ASSOCIATION was organized in 1888 by the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. Including in its ranks champions of freedom of many religious persuasions, the Association is dedicated to preservation of religious liberty, as is indicated in the Declaration of Principles. The Association advocates no political or economic theories. General secretary, Marvin E. Loewen; associate secretaries, W. Melvin Adams, Roland R. Hegstad.



from the editor's desk

LIBERTY is happy to present, in cooperation with *These Times* magazine, the five-star vanguard of American governors—Republican, Democrat; Protestant, Jew, Catholic—who speak for religious liberty. As men occupying key positions within the structure of democratic government, the governors strongly influence the practical application of religious liberty principles within their States. Witness the courageous action of Governor Dewey Clyde of Utah, who vetoed a Sunday law supported by important pressure groups, including his own church, for the sake of some four or five hundred Sabbathkeepers in his State. The governors' statements will appear in successive issues.

A few weeks ago 250 New Yorkers gathered in the garden of the Museum of Modern Art to watch a machine destroy itself. The suicidal sculpture was the creation of Switzerland's Jean Tinguely, who wished to make the point that men might better make fools of machines than be made fools of by machines. The 27-foot-high tangle of irony started auspiciously by sawing injudiciously at its mixed-up vitals, but, as if rebellious at its role, burst into flame and had to be doused by anxious firemen. Which might have made a good introduction for "The Tyranny of Technology," page 8.

Attorney General Stanley Mosk of California is an articulate and courageous man—articulate enough to speak off the cuff and courageous enough to do it on controversial issues before that implacable witness, a tape recorder. See page 12.

Next time: Things were complicated enough on the public school front with reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic; but now the nation's courts are being asked to look over a fourth R—religion. The September-October LIBERTY tackles the problems of parochial schools—should they receive state aid? Are they needed in a democratic society? What philosophy do they instill in their students? How does the Doctrine of the Wall affect public and parochial schools? And a special report on Britain's Battle of the Schools.

Roland R. Hegstad

LETTERS

THE RAPE OF THE MIND

DEAR MR. HEGSTAD:

I have just been reading your article "The Rape of the Mind" in the January-February, 1960, issue of your magazine.

What disturbs me is the classification, on page 7, of the Nuremberg trials with the German Reichstag and Moscow purge trials and Korean war brainwashings.

I was a member of Justice Jackson's staff at Nuremberg, and unless the reference is to the evidence produced at the trials rather than to the manner in which they were conducted, I would take sharp issue with the uncomplimentary association of those trials with the others mentioned.—Theodore Fenstermacher, Cortland, N.Y.

► The reference was to the evidence produced at the trials rather than to the manner in which they were conducted.—Ed.

LUTHERAN WITNESS

DEAR SIR:

After reading your article on Finland, and because you will be printing one on Sweden (both concerning the church-state problem), I decided to send you the enclosed clipping from *The Lutheran Witness*, official publication of the Lutheran Church (Missouri Synod).

All Lutheran Synods in America agree that church and state should be kept separate. Martin Luther always advocated strict separation of church and state.

The Lutheran Church (Missouri Synod) has more than a thousand parochial schools in the United States but nevertheless the church is strongly against Federal aid to these schools in any form (including use of State buses for transportation). In contrast, the Roman Catholic Church holds very opposite views.

It would be very fair-minded if your magazine would state that the Lutheran churches in the U.S. are *not* in favor of church and state uniting anywhere, whether it be Spain, Finland, or Sweden. However, the Roman Catholic Church in this country does not make the same statement. Lutherans in this country cannot regulate the Lutheran churches abroad. They can only state their wholehearted endorsement of the principle of separation of church and state.

It must also be remembered that the restrictions in countries such as Finland and Sweden are small indeed when compared with the actual suppression of other religions in Spain, South America, et cetera. Nevertheless, restrictions of religious liberty anywhere and in any form, no matter how minor they may be, should never be condoned. As American Lutherans we are proud that we do not approve of religious restrictions, and we *do* adhere to, and believe in, a strict separation of church and state.—E. A. F., Minneapolis, Minnesota.

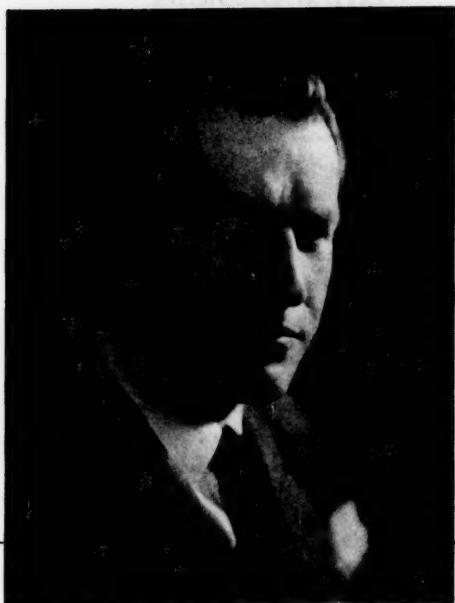
[The statement from *The Lutheran Witness* follows.—Ed.]

"This crisis in the life of the National Lutheran Church of Sweden points up one of the evils in a church-state alignment: binding the consciences of some church members by national law in matters which they hold to be unscriptural.

"Such a church-state situation should certainly make us realize our glorious privilege of living in a country in which

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LIBERTY, 1960



HARRIS & EWING



STATE OF NEW YORK
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER
ALBANY

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER
GOVERNOR

Whatever our faith or sectarian denomination, all forms of worship have but one goal and that is finding the road to God.

A distinguished and enlightened clergyman has compared the different religions of our country to the spokes of a wheel. They all end in the hub. It is a most appropriate thought. If any spokes are damaged or broken the entire wheel is weakened and eventually collapses. By the same token, if we allow the members of any faith or denomination to suffer discrimination, we weaken the entire fabric of our American system.

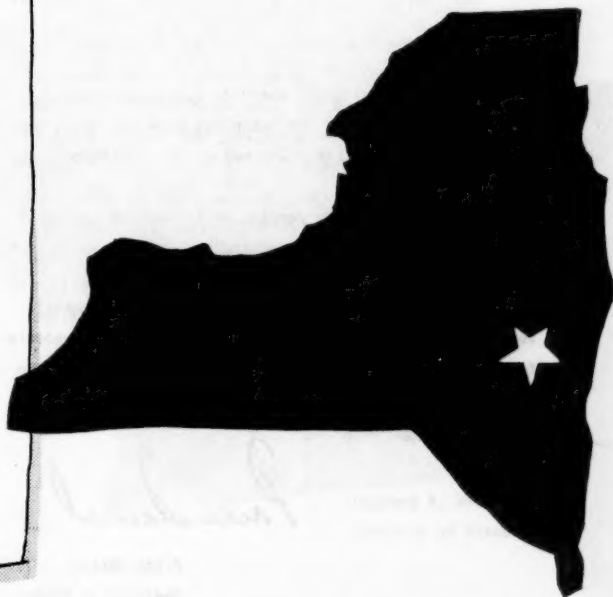
The most potent single factor in the growth of our country to become the great bulwark of human liberty it is today, is our freedom to worship according to the guidance of our heart and conscience. It is the fount and origin of all our freedoms.

In America we never forget that all freedom comes from God Himself.

Nelson A. Rockefeller
Governor of the State of New York

Governors Speak out *for* RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

In successive issues **LIB-
ERTY** will present the state-
ments of governors—Repub-
lican, Democrat; Protes-
tant, Jew, Catholic—who
speak for religious freedom.





LEROY COLLINS
GOVERNOR

STATE OF FLORIDA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
TALLAHASSEE

August 4, 1959



Those who founded our American democracy came to the New World because of the denial of religious liberty, and one of the keystones of the new government they established is the guarantee of that freedom. If we are to preserve our democratic form of government, we must be ever alert to strike down any infringements upon the right of Americans to exercise their free choice in matters of religion as well as secular matters.

LeRoy Collins
Governor of Florida



EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
AUSTIN, TEXAS

PRICE DANIEL
GOVERNOR

July 22, 1959

The greatest blessing our God-fearing forefathers bestowed upon this land was religious freedom, which has nourished and strengthened our way of life throughout the years.

More than any other people, we in America realize that "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," and that the cause of freedom is the cause of God.

It behooves us, therefore, to wage constant battle for the preservation of our basic rights. Once freedom's flames have died, it is extremely difficult to bring the light again.

Price Daniel
Governor of Texas





State of Washington
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
Olympia

ALBERT D. ROSELLINI
Governor

July 22, 1959

We must always remember as individual Americans that the freedom to worship according to the dictates of our own conscience is a priceless heritage and one which must be preserved at all costs. For if we were to lose this freedom, the freedoms of speech and press would lose their basic reason for existing and would also vanish.



Albert D. Rosellini

Albert D. Rosellini
Governor of the State of Washington



OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
MADISON, WISCONSIN

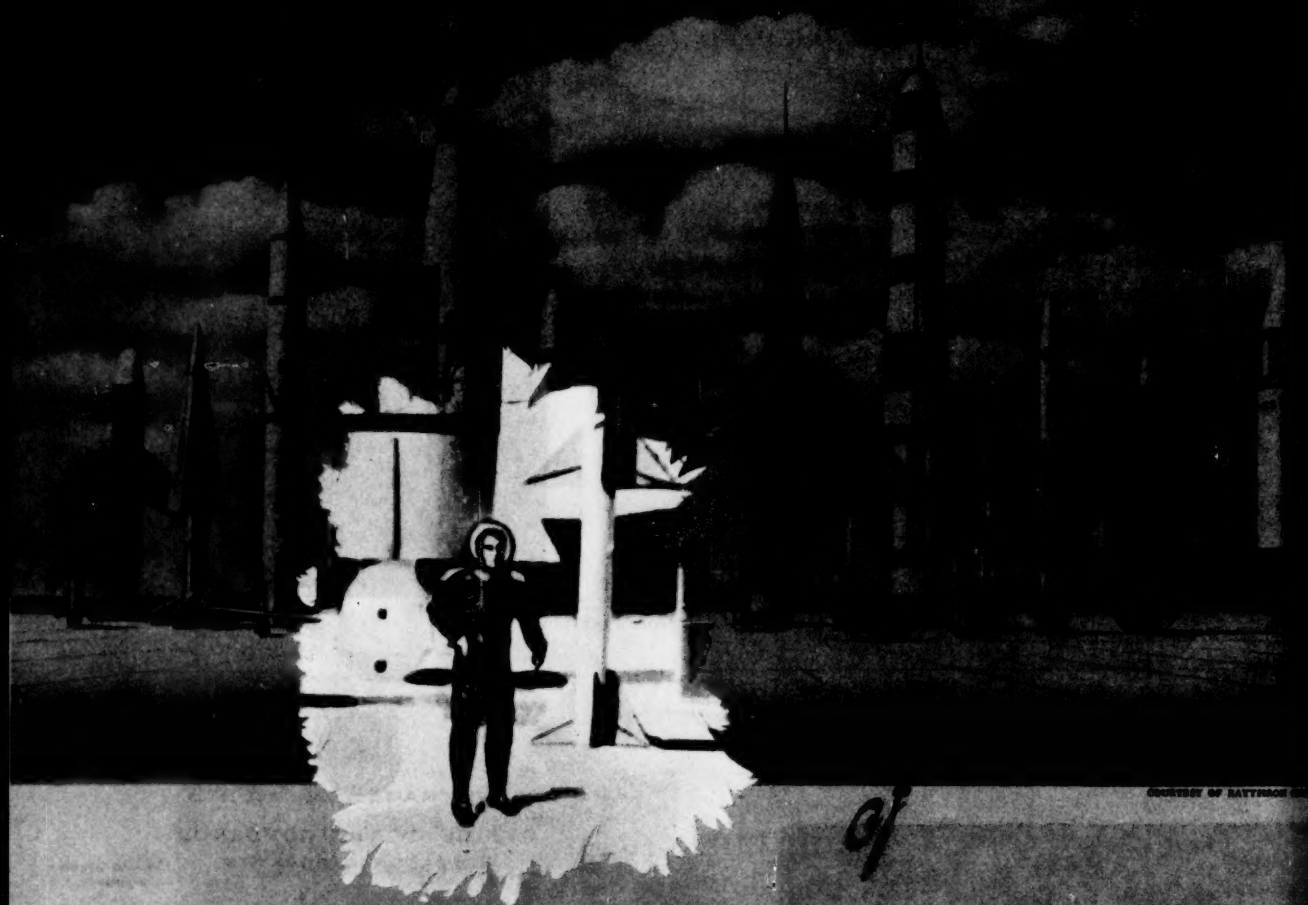
One of the cornerstones of our Constitution is the guarantee of religious freedom, without which America could never have achieved its present greatness. Allowing the liberty for each citizen to worship according to his own dictates is the only solution to the problem of religious differences. If America's greatness is to be retained, then every citizen must have an individual, conscientious concern for the preservation of religious liberty, both in the United States and throughout the world.

Gaylord A. Nelson

Gaylord A. Nelson
Governor of Wisconsin



The TYRANNY



TECHNOLOGY

ROLAND R. HEGSTAD

This is the paradox of technology—that man has become slave to that which was to be his servant, a slave worrying that machines will, by atom or automation, make him expendable in this Have-Button-Will-Push Age

["The Tyranny of Technology" is second in a series of articles on forces in modern society which are subtly conditioning men to surrender hard-won freedoms. The first, "The Rape of the Mind," appeared in the January-February, 1960, *Liberty*.—ED.]

AS THE amusement park centrifuge begins to spin, centrifugal force moves the little boy against the outer walls. Faster and faster it goes. Soon the boy is pinned against the wall like an astronaut to a rising rocket. He is a prisoner of the machine, unable to move either backward or forward. Then, searching for freedom, he discovers he can scramble along the walls upside down. The machine has repealed the law that keeps his feet on the ground, that maintains his relationship to the true center of things.

"The child in the centrifuge stands for modern man in the society he has made." According to *Time* magazine, this is the metaphor at the heart of a starkly brutal French film that dramatizes man's subservience to his machines.

"The tyranny of technology" is no idle phrase. For, strangely, that which was to be a precursor of Paradise has become instead the harbinger of hell; that which was to free man from his chains has bound him with fetters of fear; that which was to result in increased freedom poses a threat to all freedoms; that which was ordained to good has been perverted to the murderous ends of war. This is the paradox of technology—that man has become slave to that which was to be his servant, a slave worrying that machines will, by atom or automation, make him expendable in this Have-Button-Will-Push Age.

Indeed, to many technology has become more than master; it has become a god, with its incarnation the white-smocked scientist; its Bible, mathematics; its revelation, the flaming hell of a tortured atom; its Inquisition, the automated production line and the hydrogen-headed rocket.

Technology Not Bad

This is not to say that technology per se is bad. Technology rightly directed, rightly used as a means to the right end, was given for a blessing to men by One who decreed that in the "time of the end . . . knowledge shall be increased." It is as a religion that technology falls considerably short of either recognizing or supplying man's essential needs.

Technology becomes tyrannical when it is used to further dictatorial ends, or is overemphasized. Not that the scientist who devotes his life to bettering the conditions of his fellow men is guilty of overemphasis. Some scientists worship at the metallic altar, but it is most often the layman who, overwhelmed by forces too complex for his gear ratio, slips into a condition of servile dependency. The scientist rapping at unknown frontiers is generally aware of the infinity beyond. It is true, of course, that both layman and scientist quail before

Dr. Werner von Braun, director of the Development Operation Division of the Army Ballistic Missile Agency, was asked recently: "Do you feel that modern man worships too much the golden calf of material progress?"

His reply: "Nothing has probably retarded human progress more than idolatry of our own achievements. By worshipping our own scientific achievements we kill humility. By adoring our own technological advancement we kill the urge for improvement."

the destructive potential of an abused technology, and here the scientist more than the layman, for he understands better the consequences of war.

The tyranny involved in technology has its beginning in the mind of man. Man must conceive of technology as an end in itself rather than as a means to an end; he must abuse the product of his hands before it can abuse him. It should be remembered that technology is only one of a number of forces conditioning the mind—communication media, government, social mores—any persuasive, all-encompassing stimulus has its effect. In *LIBERTY*'s series these forces are analyzed as they relate to freedom. How do they condition the mind to the surrender of liberties? Where and how does the drift away from democracy, toward dictatorship, begin?

Tyrannies Four

The tyrannies of an overemphasized technology, a technology that has become a religion, are four:

1. It restricts man to a metallic, intellectual existence.

Writes Charles Lindbergh, himself once a disciple of technology: "Living in rented apartments, jamming roads and subways, punching time clocks, sitting paunchily at desks, cramming the minds of his children with technical knowledge, modern man sacrifices health of body and freedom of spirit to the scientific idol of his time. On its altar go the smell of earth, the feel of wind and weather, vision of fields and rivers, warmth of friendship, understanding of children, even the contemplation of God; all these are given over to a metallic, intellectual existence."¹

With the eyes of his soul blinded by the "god of this world" (2 Corinthians 4:4), man mistakes the transient for the eternal, the shadow for the substance, the finite for the infinite. He piles up *things*, lives for *things*, things that can be touched and felt and handled. And *worships* things—for the facts of the universe must be sufficiently explained by the existence and nature of matter.

And liberty? Can one who sees only the material dimension long distinguish between legal form and living substance? When God gave man eyes for his soul, He did not intend that they become vestigial appendages to be discarded at the dawn of reason.

2. It reduces man to an expendable and insignificant robot.

The effects of automation on workers were studied by the Society for Applied Anthropology.⁷ Chief complaint of workers interviewed: Increasing mental tension supplanted muscular fatigue. The workers tended to become jumpy, and gradually developed the feeling that the machine controlled them, instead of them the machine. Dr. Joost A. M. Meerloo, instructor in psychiatry at Columbia University, cites the cases of several patients who looked on machines as something alive—"dangerously alive because machines had no love or other feeling for the man who used them."⁸

A second source of tension lies in the destructive potential of modern machines. One rocket with a hydrogen warhead can drop more explosive hell over a nation than was in all the bombs dropped by all the air forces of all the nations during World War II! And do it within fifteen minutes from existing launching sites!

How can man have self-respect when, because of automation, his work loses significance or seems to become unnecessary at all? When the atom makes him seemingly the most expendable part of his world? Here is a climate of fear in which individual liberties

may appear necessarily expendable for the common good—and more freedom be lost in a day than can be recovered in a lifetime!

3. It contributes to a redefinition of moral values.

One can correctly say that the present state of moral values contributes to the perversion of technology; but nevertheless, here is a two-way street. A mechanical Frankenstein contributes, in turn, to warped values. The number and reliability of a nation's rockets become more important than the reliability of its treaties, the integrity of its peoples (with a bow, perhaps, to the stability of its monetary system!). Power is the word. Might makes right. Boats, cars, television sets, purchasing power—these rather than the homely (and human) values—honesty, integrity, industry, compassion—become status symbols for the individual. Again power is the word.

And flux. Technology is built on change. It has few absolutes; which is fine for technology, but destructive to morals and to freedom when translated into terms of human conduct, for integrity may be surrendered for expediency. The mores of the culture pattern, of society in general, become right. (Hardly a condition to be coveted in the age of Kinsey reports, payola, kickbacks, *ad infinitum, ad nauseum!*)

In a society where power and flux become passwords, inalienable rights become simply alien and self-evident truths a scarce commodity to be dispensed in rationed doses by a despotic government.

4. It displaces and usurps human relationships.

Emphasis on the artificial has had its effect on human relationships. "Technology has taken away affectionate relationships between men. . . . Technical intrusion usurps human relationships, as if people no longer had to give one another attention and love any more. The bottle replaces Mother's breast, the nickel in the automat replaces Mother's preparation of sandwiches. The impersonal machine replaces human gesture and mutuality."⁹

Recently the *Scientific American* reported on an unloved child who mentally turned himself into a machine because his parents displayed entirely indifferent and mechanical reactions to him.¹⁰ His obedience gave them no satisfaction and won him no satisfaction or approval. He was unable to establish a relationship.

"The schizophrenic child plugged himself in when he ate because he firmly believed electricity powered his digestive system. He drank through an elaborate piping system built of straws so that, in his fantasy, liquids could be pumped into him. He had make-believe motors that ran him through the day and exhaust pipes through which he exhaled.

"When psychiatrists first tried to talk to him, his only reply was, 'Bam!' The simulated explosion neutralized his machinery, barring human contact."¹¹ According to Dr. Bruno Bettelheim, professor of psychiatry

NEW DIMENSION OF ANCIENT PERPLEXITIES

Reinhold Niebuhr

"It would have been difficult for the generations of the twentieth century to survive the hazards and to face the perplexities of our age in any event, since every problem of human existence had been given a wider scope than known in previous ages. But our perplexities became the more insoluble and the perils to which we were exposed became the more dangerous because the men of this generation had to face the rigors of life in the twentieth century with nothing but the soft illusions of the previous two centuries to cover their spiritual nakedness. There was nothing in the creeds and dogmas of these centuries which would have enabled modern men either to anticipate or to understand the true nature of the terrors and tumults to which they would be exposed.

"The history of mankind exhibits no more ironic experience than the contrast between the sanguine hopes of recent centuries and the bitter experiences of contemporary man. Every technical advance, which previous generations regarded as a harbinger or guarantor of the redemption of mankind from its various difficulties, has proved to be the cause, or at least the occasion, for a new dimension of ancient perplexities."—*Faith and History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), p. 1.

and philosophy at the University of Chicago, the boy was "robbed of his humanity." Said Dr. Bettelheim, "It is unlikely . . . [this] calamity could befall a child in any time and culture but our own."

A generation weaned from a cold bottle, trained by a television set, rated by IQ instead of by SQ (Spiritual Quotient), their aptitude determined by coded holes on a roll of tape and their advance measured by charts, graphs, and public-opinion polls, even matched for marriage by a computer—such a generation could hardly be blamed for failing to learn or to appreciate the human equation.

Here again exists a threat to liberties, for in the mathematics of freedom the virility of a free society is diminished in proportion to the number of citizens who withdraw into themselves. Successful democracy demands a participating citizenry, who have come to terms with self and with each other.

Superautomatized State

What could be the consequences of the tyranny of technology? Could American democracy be vitally affected?

Says Dr. Meerloo: "Unless we watch ourselves, unless we become more aware of the serious problems our technology has brought us, our entire society could turn into a kind of superautomatized state. Any breakdown of moral awareness and of the individual's sense of his own worth makes all of us more vulnerable to mental coercion. . . .

"All this may sound extreme. But the fact remains that any influence—overt or concealed, well or ill-intended—which reduces our alertness, our capacity to face reality, our desire to live as active, acting individuals, to assume responsibility and to face up to danger,

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FOCUS ON FREEDOM

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT TO SPEAK ON SUNDAY LAWS

The United States Supreme Court has agreed to review three Sunday-law cases during its 1960-61 term, which begins in October. In each, merchants have contended that blue laws are a violation of their constitutional rights and constitute an attempt to establish religion, contrary to the First Amendment of the Constitution. The Court has not ruled on a blue-law case in sixty years. [See *Petit v. Minnesota*, 177 U.S. 164 (1900).]

The cases involve decisions of lower courts in three States—Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. The Maryland case is an appeal from Miss Margaret McGouth, Glen Burnie, Maryland, discount store, charging that the "blue law" of that State compels her to observe a religious sabbath. Seven of the firm's employees were fined five dollars each in 1958 for selling general merchandise on Sunday. The decision of Circuit Court Judge Benjamin Michaelson in this case was upheld by the Maryland Court of Appeals.

The Pennsylvania case also involves a discount store—the Allentown store known as Two Guys From Harrison, Inc. The United States Circuit Court of Appeals upheld a decision against the firm for violating Pennsylvania's blue law by selling merchandise on Sunday.

The third case concerns the Crown Kasher Supermarket of Springfield, Massachusetts, which closed from sundown Friday to sundown Saturday in observance of the seventh-day Sabbath, but remained open on Sunday. Three Federal Circuit Court judges held unconstitutional the Massachusetts blue law under which the market operators were fined. (Arguments presented in behalf of the defendants by Dr. Leo Pfeffer, noted champion of religious freedom, appeared in the three preceding issues of *Liberty*.)

The Supreme Court's refusal to review Sunday-law cases during the past half century stemmed from belief that no "substantial federal question" was involved. Faced with a mushrooming of cases throughout the nation that raise constitutional questions, the majority of justices now apparently feel that the Supreme Court should hear the arguments and hand down a definite ruling. Their possible decisions and the implications of each will be considered in forthcoming issues of *Liberty*.

Students of Bible prophecy will watch developments carefully—and *prayerfully*—for they are aware that substantial questions vital to the preservation of American freedoms are involved in the Sunday-law question.



with...

In an Unrehearsed, Oral Interview
With *Liberty* Associate Editor W.
Melvin Adams, Attorney General
Mosk Answers Such Questions as:



Attorney General Mosk

- Are Sunday laws religious or social in nature?
- How are one-day-rest-in-seven laws enforced?
- When should majority rights not prevail?
- Is religious conformity desirable?
- Are restrictive licensing ordinances a threat to religious freedom?
- Should the state protect the right to work of a man who has religious convictions against joining a labor union?
- Why is the American citizen largely ignorant of principles undergirding separation of church and state?

Q. Mr. Mosk, you recently alerted Californians to "a rapidly gaining drive on the part of significant numbers in our country to use the instrumentalities of the state to press home their religious points of view." Could you bring this statement into sharper focus? Is this an organized drive? What instrumentalities of the state are being used? What success do you anticipate these forces will have?

A. Unfortunately, there is an increasing number of people who seem determined to achieve conformity in religious observances. As one example, they insist upon Sunday closing of places of business and other facilities, and they seek to use the instrumentality of the state as a means of achieving what is primarily a religious goal. It is impossible to estimate the number of people who

are engaged in this type of activity today, but the number is significant. I am hopeful, however, that these efforts will not achieve success, and that the traditional American constitutional policy of giving free expression to religious beliefs of all people in our society will prevail.

Q. What is your attitude on the current controversy in the courts over whether Sunday is a religious or social day? Can it be considered equality and justice for all, when because of his religious background and training an individual who refrains from working on one day of the week is forced to remain idle another day because of city, county, or State legislation? Can this be justified as a public health measure?

California's Attorney General Stanley Mosk

[Stanley Mosk was elected California's Attorney General in 1958 by the greatest margin of any candidate for any office in the nation—1,150,000 votes. Besides serving on nine boards and commissions, he is director of the California Department of Justice, in charge of the bureaus of Criminal Identification and Investigation, Narcotic Enforcement, Criminal Statistics, and Office of Administration. During sixteen years as a superior court judge—at 30, he was the youngest man ever to hold that judicial post—Mr. Mosk tried approximately 19,000 cases, including some of the most significant litigation of the past decade.—ED.]

A. For health reasons I think it is appropriate that the State see that all employees have at least one day off each week. But whenever the State stipulates which day that shall be, then it is infringing on the religious freedom of persons who, for reasons of conscience, observe one or another day as their sabbath. The State has no right to insist upon closing on Sunday, or on Saturday, or on any other specific day. I think it does have the right, however, to demand that all places of business close on one day a week. In other words, I am in favor of a one-day-in-seven law, which permits the State to exercise its obligation to protect the people's health and welfare.

Q. *There is considerable question across the country in regard to how a one-day-rest-in-seven law might be enforced. Does California have a one-day-rest-in-seven law? If it does, through what agency and by what procedure is it enforced?*

A. California does have a one-day-rest-in-seven law. It is administered solely through the Department of Industrial Relations. Records of employers and employees (through labor organizations) are checked, and there is a criminal offense involved if a business firm insists on its employees working round the calendar. This law is a health or social measure, for certainly everyone must have a day of rest for health reasons, not only for his own protection but for the protection of society. If we have unhealthy persons in our society, all of us are affected. In California we have had no particular enforcement problem. Organized labor has insisted on this provision in all contracts with employers.

Q. *What is your attitude concerning the rights of the minority on religious matters as against the*

rights and expressed wishes of the majority? Should legislation be sought to bring about conformity?

A. Our American society is based upon minority as well as majority rights. This is as true in the field of religion as in the field of civil rights—free speech, right to assemble, and the right of a free press. In matters of ballot and governmental affairs, of legislative matters, inevitably the majority will prevail. Fortunately, however, our Constitution has put certain brakes on the majority to prevent it from running roughshod over the rights of minorities.

Religion is one area in which it is impossible to have conformity without restricting individual rights. As a matter of fact, there is no religious majority in terms of a single group in America today. Should several bodies combine to seek to enforce their views on all, this action would be contrary to the fundamental principles established in this country by our founding fathers.

Q. *In some areas Green River ordinances or other restrictive licensing ordinances have been applied to stop the sale of religious literature. Do you see a threat to religious freedom in this?*

A. I don't want to comment upon any specific ordinance and its constitutionality, but it seems to me that there is an unsound principle involved where any licensing provision is applied to the sale of religious literature. The press of our country would resist to its dying gasp any effort to require licenses for the publication of daily newspapers. They would do this because of their dedication to freedom of the press. I think that any limitation upon religious publications violates not only freedom of the press but freedom of religion as well. Religion depends upon communication between those of similar beliefs, and legitimate efforts to persuade others to adopt those beliefs. Therefore it seems to me, any effort to stifle freedom of communication is unwise and probably illegal.

Q. *What is the difference between a license and a fee levied on sellers of religious literature?*

A. Licensing ordinarily vests in the agency doing the licensing a certain amount of discretion. When it comes to distribution of religious publications, it would appear that no one person or one agency should be given discretion to grant or to withhold the license. Now, a fee such as all of us pay in order to operate our automobiles each year gives no arbitrary discretion to the authority collecting the fee either to refuse or to grant the license.

If fees are exacted on a basis of complete equality and without arbitrary restriction, then usually there can be no objection to fees; however, in this area, too, I have grave doubt as to whether fees may be exacted from religious institutions, which traditionally are exempt from taxation in our society.

Q. If one has a conscientious conviction against joining a trade or labor union, based on the principles of religious liberty and human rights, should not the dissenter's right to engage in free and lawful enterprise be protected by the state?

A. Yes, as a matter of principle I am against compulsion in any field of endeavor. I find it a little difficult to conceive of one's objecting to trade association membership on religious grounds, but perhaps this is due to some lack of understanding I have of some person's or group's conscientious religious beliefs. If there is a genuine religious objection to joining an organization, I think the individual's right to engage in free and lawful enterprise should be protected by the state.

Q. What, in your opinion, are the most menacing threats in America at the present time?

A. We recently came through an era of attempted conformity, a period that history will probably record as the "McCarthy Era." I think that this was a most dangerous period, in that agencies of the Government—congressional committees—were attempting to insist upon conformity and to equate nonconformity with virtual treason to our country. This was particularly dangerous to our political freedom and, in effect, to all our freedoms, because certainly it is a short step from coerced political conformity to coerced religious conformity.

Today, I am happy to say, we seem to be emerging from that period, and I can see much brighter evidences of respect for nonconformity. This is indicated in many of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, and particularly, I think, by the courageous leadership of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Earl Warren. By and large I would say that the greatest menace to our freedom is the public clamor or hysteria that attempts to stamp out dissent or disagreement in any field.

Q. You have expressed concern over the American citizen's ignorance of the principles undergirding separation of church and state. Why does this climate of ignorance exist?

A. I think perhaps our educational process has failed to instill in our young people an understanding of the principles upon which America was founded. Everyone feels deeply when his individual rights are affected. If I'm a newspaper man, I am concerned vitally with freedom of the press. If I'm a businessman, I am concerned

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1910

Fifty years ago

CENSORED SUNDAYS.—A number of ministers in New York City have evolved a plan to keep theaters open on Sunday. A class of plays will be selected, passed upon by a committee of censors, and these plays will be produced. The ministers hope that Governor Hughes will give his approval of the thing.

1925

Thirty-five years ago

POTENT PATENT PEPPER-UPPERS.—Of those who laugh at the Volstead Act, none laughs louder or longer than the patent medicine manufacturer who makes alcohol the chief ingredient of his remedies. "Lyko," "Tona-Vin," "Vita-Pep," "Tanlac," and "Karnac" are some of the legal "liquors" on sale in arid America. "Karnac," for example, is 18 per cent alcohol, yet it is advertized under the claim that it is free from any habit-forming drugs.

1940

Twenty years ago

"COMPLETE" QUALIFIED.—According to General Franco of Spain, "Complete toleration now exists in National Spain for all Christian communions, and complete toleration will continue to be the policy and practice of the National Spanish Government." However, H. M. Gooch, general secretary of the World's Evangelical Alliance, disputed General Franco's statement. "In 147 centers of evangelical work recently made the subject of inquiry," he said, "religious liberty of any kind was withheld in 109 centers, the work being entirely closed down; while of the remaining 38 centers, 33 were under some measure of toleration, and five were doubtful."

1950

Ten years ago

CHRISTIANS, AWAKE!—Anyone who wants to attend Sunday morning services at the Westwood Christian church in Kansas City, Kansas, can be sure he will get there no matter how heavy a sleeper he is. All he has to do is leave a request with the church office, which telephones him between 7:00 and 9:00 A.M.—in plenty of time to get to church. There is no charge for the novel service.

Does society have an obligation to its rebels—those eccentric nonconformists infected by the virus of individualism? Yes, says the author in . . .

a plea for the SOMEWHAT DISORGANIZED MAN

WALTER C. UTT

A REVERED myth, well-established in the American tradition, is that we are tolerant people. Our history, unfortunately, shows that this is not always true—as Joseph Smith, Elijah Lovejoy, William Miller, and John Humphrey Noyes could have testified in the last century. Disapproval of the "different," the eccentric, and the individualistic is expressed today by group pressures of a more humane sort than the tar and feathers preferred by our forefathers, but disapproval nevertheless is there.

Our country was founded on pluralism in opinions, races, and creeds, but this does not mean that early America was one big exercise in brotherhood. Differences were fought out, violently sometimes, in the open, and our way of life with its concomitant ideas of politics, religion, and society is the result.

Now that we have achieved a complex society, it may be argued that we cannot afford individualists save in areas where they can be handled comfortably—type of toothbrush, brand of cigarettes, or color of car (not the *model* of car, to be sure, for that would have status

value). Our social machinery is exceedingly complex and heavy, and with the best will in the world is not set up for exceptions. Exceptions are costly and confusing, but we try to tolerate them if they do not cost much or run counter to our more cherished prejudices. With teeming multitudes living ever closer together, of necessity we have become a society of bureaucrats to handle the increasing amount of regulation required. The most amiable of bureaucrats find the eccentric, the nonconformist, indigestible. He must be purged from the body politic. So far we do it through gentle but relentless social pressures; authoritarian societies handle him more roughly.

Closed-Circuit Society?

Pessimists tell us we may be heading toward a faceless, antiseptic, brightly lit, closed-circuit-TV type of society. A sort of Huxleyan or Wellian bad dream. This may be overdrawn, but there seems little doubt that we tend toward a rather gray mass, supersensitive to group pres-



Pessimists tell us we may be heading toward a faceless, antiseptic, brightly lit, closed-circuit-TV type of society.



sures, "other directed," and heliotropic. Personal choice is played down. After all, it would not do to jeopardize promotion, an automatic kitchen, the sports car, or credit-card living.

There is no use in succumbing to nostalgia, for the Lost Paradise really never existed for most of us. Few can take off for the desert isle, and not many more will desert The Corporation to form one of their own. Indignant speeches will accomplish nothing, nor will driving on the wrong side of the road to prove one's independence.

We are in our society and of it. Supposing that we still harbor the virus of individualism, what can we do? Little, to be sure. The contest lacks heroic elements, and unlike Luther at Worms, we find difficulty discovering anything clear cut enough to be defiant about. We are "imprisoned in brotherhood," to use Whyte's term.¹ How do you buck all-enveloping togetherness, cooperation, and smothering beneficence? The complexity of an industrial society makes it almost impossible to provide completely for our own health, safety, and old age security. We therefore, almost without exception, depend on welfare society, and to greater or lesser degree approve of it.

When one participates in the society and enjoys its goodies, and merely craves the right to be different in some little thing—like growing a beard, refusing to salute a tribal totem, not carrying liability insurance, worshipping on the "wrong" day, refusing to join a union, or wishing to educate one's own child—his resistance may look about as pointless as Don Quixote tilting with windmills. "Society" may then say rather despairingly, "Old boy, you're being a little tiresome about this detail—it's foolish to make trouble for trouble's sake. Cooperate and it will all work out."

Tyranny of the Majority

It is uncomfortable to be alone, especially in a cold world that is getting more complicated all the time. Because we wish very strongly to "belong" it is easy to adjust into a satisfying solidarity with the group. We avoid disagreement. We intensify our approval of the



social virtues until we have created for ourselves a tyranny of the majority. Eventually we believe that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts, and that the individual must be *forced* to give in.

By this time conviction is lost. (Strong convictions lead to eccentricity, and that endangers promotion too.) The initiative has been seized by the few who still know where they are going and where they wish to lead or drive the herd. At what point, then, does one stand up?—if, after all the hard and soft selling, he can discover what to stand up for.

A rejoinder to all this is difficult. One cannot deny the obligations of the individual to society. In practice we rarely did even when saying the most about rugged individualism. We all operate through groups. In fact, the most antigroup group probably deifies its group and uses considerable pressure upon deviants within. Then,

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The Star-Spangled Banner

For me there was but one national anthem worth singing—"La Marseillaise."

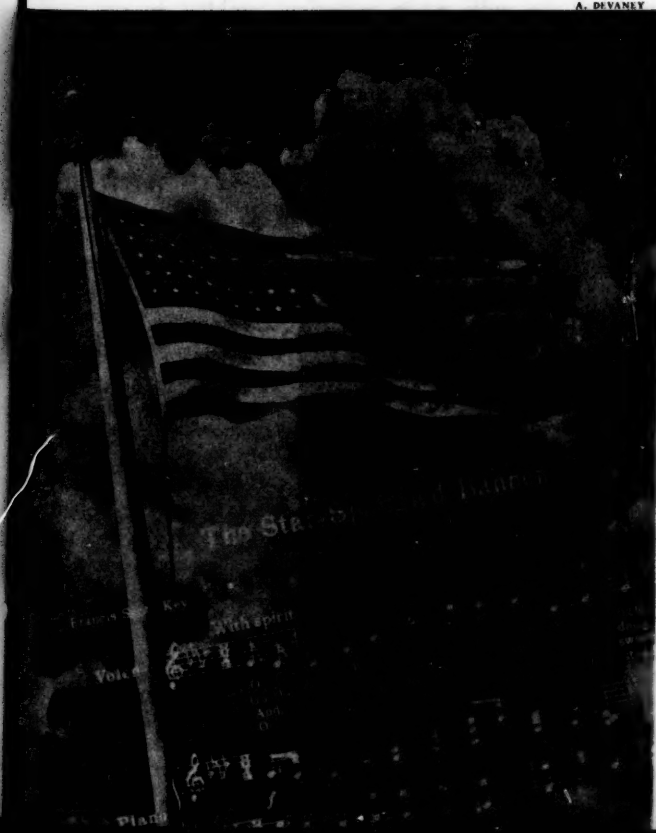
But that was before one star-spangled morning a few weeks ago . . .

JEANNE REVERT

Third in a Series on Great Freedom Songs

I MUST have first heard "The Star-Spangled Banner" toward the end of World War I. My reason for not being positive about the date is that the song left no real impression on me. It was simply one song among many sung by the Allied soldiers—British, Belgians, Americans—coming to the aid of my country, France. I was much less fascinated by the song than by the doughboys who marched through Le Havre on their way to war. How young they looked! How friendly they were! How clean cut and idealistic! And how generous to join us in our fight against the invader!

When World War II again brought agony to France, "The Star-Spangled Banner" was still just a song to me in spite of my respect and admiration for America, feelings that had been strengthened by studies in school and by association with many American friends. Moreover, the American national anthem was, though beautiful, a difficult song to sing. And for me it lacked the quality of emotion which only one's own national anthem can raise. If it spoke of courage—"the home of the brave"—had not the blood of more than one million Frenchmen sanctified the ground of Verdun? Did not my country have heroes many while the land called the United States was yet the grazing ground of buffaloes? If it spoke of freedom—the "land of the free"—what was newsworthy in that to a daughter of Lafayette? Did not every public building in France have *Liberté* carved upon its façade? And if the Statue of Liberty raised



high her lamp over New York Harbor, who had sent her as a gift to the people of America? For me there was but one song after all—"La Marseillaise."

In 1953 my work caused me to take up residence in the United States. Having visited there before, I embarked at Le Havre without the "honeymoon" emotions of many of my fellow travelers. Of course, I did look forward to renewing acquaintances with many American friends. The night before we were to land in New York, I sat at supper in the dining room. The orchestra suddenly stopped playing right in the middle of a popular tune. A few seconds later, as the passengers were turning questioning toward the platform, the pianist struck a chord and the orchestra struck up "The Star-Spangled Banner." The Americans rose from their seats and sang with voices that trembled a little. Humming the tune, I watched them, deeply moved. Could it be that I would someday stand and sing "The Star-Spangled Banner" with the same emotion? "Perhaps," I admitted hesitantly to myself, "but only when I am sure."

When the song ended, I looked at my table companions. The couple on my left, with deep-lined faces and haunted eyes, had known the horrors of Dachau. The German woman across from me had lost her husband in the war. The two young Dutchmen, dabbling self-consciously with an unfamiliar dessert, were going to send for their wives as soon as they were able, they had said. Of the six of us I was the only one who had been in the States before and the only one who was going as a matter "of duty." All were planning to make their homes in the United States and to become American citizens as soon as possible. America was to them the Land of Another Chance, the white page of new beginnings. I saw the couple to my left covertly join hands and look at each other as if to say, "At last! We will be able to live our convictions in the open."

"They are not going to America simply to seek economic security," I thought, looking at them all. "They're looking for the right to live unmolested, the right to establish homes, to raise happy children, to live in peace

and freedom." Could it be that I, too, would find in America new horizons? Could it be that I would—"?" "I must be sure, I must be sure," I repeated to myself defensively. Old loyalties are not easily broken.

A few weeks ago I heard "The Star-Spangled Banner" on the radio while preparing breakfast in my Washington, D.C., apartment. I like my eggs soft, but that morning I ate them hard boiled and liked them. After all, with one new American citizen standing at attention before the radio, singing her national anthem for the first time, who was there to turn off the gas?

★★★



DEFENSE DEPARTMENT PHOTO

REVIEW PICTURES



Those "broad" who say that they are more than capable of taking care of a people. In Korea, 1951, the Twentieth Century Fox Second Infantry Field of

LIBERTY, 1960



REVIEW PICTURES

Whether at Lexington, 1775, or at Chippewa, 1814; on San Juan Hill or before the Marne; at Iwo Jima or Chinyong-Ni; "uncommon valor was a common virtue."

and stars" were composed of cloth, they were the heartbeat of the war, where in February, the Army Combat Team of the United States held off the Chinese Reds.

The Star-Spangled Banner

Oh! say, can you see, by the dawn's early light,
What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming,
Whose broad stripes and bright stars through the perilous fight,
O'er the ramparts we watched, were so gallantly streaming?
And the rocket's red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there.
Oh, say does that star-spangled banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

On the shore, dimly seen through the mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam
In full glory reflected, now shines on the stream;
'Tis the star-spangled banner—Oh, long may it wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

* * * * *

Oh! thus be it ever when freemen shall stand
Between their loved homes and wild war's desolation;
Blest with victory and peace, may the heaven-rescued land
Praise the Power that hath made and preserved us a nation.
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
And this be our motto, "In God is our trust!"
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.
—Francis Scott Key

U.S. ARMY PHOTO



The Birth of a Song

DURING the latter part of August, 1814—the darkest days of the second War of Independence—the British Army landed from their vessels on the Upper Patuxent River, near Benedict, Maryland, and marched upon Washington. The soldiers guarding the national capital soon fled before these veterans; the city fell into the enemy's hands and many of the public buildings, including the Capitol, were burned.

Through a misunderstanding, Dr. Beanes, a prominent citizen of Maryland, was arrested and carried off prisoner. Shortly after the British had returned to their

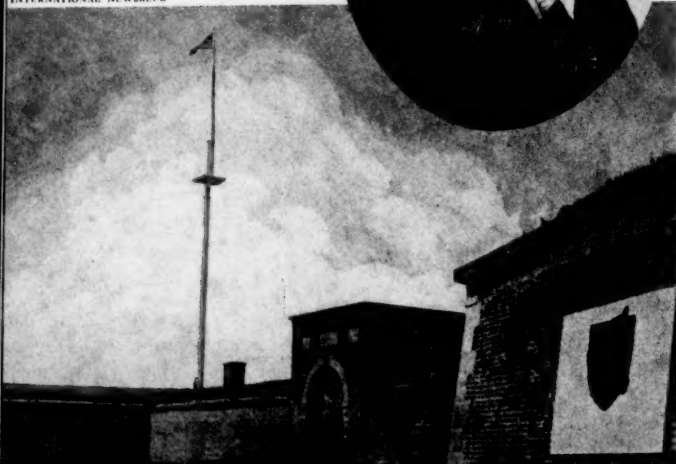
Monument to Francis Scott Key, Baltimore, Maryland, and Fort McHenry, where the Star-Spangled Banner yet waves over restored battlements.



GROGAN PHOTOS



INTERNATIONAL NEWSPHOTO



ships, Francis Scott Key, having obtained leave from the President, set out to secure the release of the doctor. He was accompanied by Col. John S. Skinner, the Government agent for the exchange of prisoners in Baltimore. Together they proceeded down the bay from Baltimore and found the British fleet at the mouth of the Patuxent.

The release of Dr. Beanes was finally secured, but since an attack on Baltimore was to be made, the British required that the American party remain under guard on board ship until after the operations. This was the first intimation the Americans had that Baltimore was to be attacked. One can readily imagine their anxiety.

Under protection of their fleet, the British landed seven thousand hardened troops at North Point, many of whom were veterans of the Napoleonic wars. As they marched toward Baltimore on the thirteenth of September, the navy, keeping well out of range of the guns of the fort, began their attack with six bomb and a few rocket vessels. At about three o'clock in the afternoon, becoming a little bolder, they brought their ships closer to the fortifications and within range of its guns. Between two and three o'clock on the morning of September 14, they attempted under cover of darkness to slip past the fort and up the Patapsco in order to effect a landing and attack the garrison from the rear.

The navy succeeded in evading the guns of Fort McHenry and disembarking their troops, but broke into cheers too soon, for the American batteries in Fort Covington and the American barges in the river now simultaneously poured a deadly fire upon them. Disheartened by the extremely effective barrage, the British embarked and sailed past Fort McHenry, which subjected them to a further gauntlet of fire.

Francis Scott Key and his companions spent the long night on their ship's deck. They watched the battle from beginning to end, not knowing which side was winning. Some time before dawn the fire suddenly ceased. Had the fort surrendered or had the attack been abandoned? When it was light enough to see objects at a distance, they were able to distinguish the Stars and Stripes.

It was during their long vigil that a poem began to take shape in Key's mind. When daylight made everything clear, when the rapture of victory finally replaced the agony of suspense, he wrote the poem on the back of a letter. Soon after, the poem appeared in the Baltimore *American*. It was circulated throughout the city and hailed with delight by the people.

According to tradition, Ferdinand Durang and his brother, musicians playing at the Holiday Street Theater in Baltimore, saw the words in print and tried them to first one piece of music and then another. The words best fitted the air of "Adams and Liberty," a song of the Revolution based on the music of an early English tune, "Anacreon in Heaven." To this music the poem was sung the same evening upon the stage of the Holiday Street Theater.

The Essence of Religious Freedom



To most people the essence of democracy is government by the people, which implies majority rule. Yet democracy goes much further than that. At the heart of the democratic ideal is recognition of the integrity of the individual and of minority rights.

By NICHOLAS LESSNER, M.A.

[Mr. Lessner is a high school teacher who has been concerned with religious freedom all his life, not professionally but as an American.—Ed.]

TODAY THE WORLD IS SENSITIVE to a struggle for liberty on an international scale. Yet we may be so completely engrossed in our concern over this international danger that we overlook the forces right in our own country that are seeking to undermine our soul freedom.

How old the struggle is! People from the beginning of time have been willing to lay down their lives to maintain that liberty for their people or to attain it. When the founders of our country, men like Jefferson and Madison, sought for a slogan or theme appropriate to their cause of independence to inscribe on the Liberty Bell, they naturally went to the Bible for inspiration, where all great ideals are the best expressed. They took their quotation from Moses' book of Leviticus, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."

✓ Two basic principles may be discerned in the Bible. The first, God's people are loyal supporters of the civil government under which they live. They are devoted subjects or exemplary citizens as the case may be. Daniel was a great Christian statesman. When Daniel's enemies sought to "frame" Daniel, they looked in vain to find any civic fault in him. The Scripture tells us they had to resort to his religion to find a point for attack. "We shall not find any occasion against this Daniel, except we find it against

him concerning the law of his God" (Dan. 6:5). Then Paul in the New Testament develops this thought further as, under inspiration, he instructs us to be loyal citizens: "Let every person be subject to the governing authorities. For there is no authority except from God. . . . Therefore he who resists the authorities resists what God has appointed, and those who resist will incur judgment. For rulers are not a terror to good conduct, but to bad. . . . For the same reason you also pay taxes, for the authorities are ministers of God. . . . Pay all of them their dues, taxes to whom taxes are due, revenue to whom revenue is due, respect to whom respect is due, honor to whom honor is due" (Rom. 13:1-7, R.S.V.). In the face of all this, how can any religious group or ecclesiastical body calling itself Christian attack our Government and refuse it allegiance! We are duty bound as Christians to pledge allegiance to our Republic and to our flag.

Freedom of the Human Soul

✓ The second basic principle asserts the freedom of the human soul. A Christian is aggressively loyal to his state, yet maintains his integrity toward his God. He will obey his conscience in spite of the state's interference, for he knows that his soul is inherently free and no human civil institution may coerce his conscience. This was early demonstrated by Daniel's three associates when they were willing to face exe-

cution in the fiery furnace rather than surrender their spiritual integrity and worship the gods of Babylon. How well their experience illustrates this! Said the Babylonian king in substance, "Do you think for one moment that your God can deliver you out of my hand?" Their reply amounted to this: "Yes, our God can deliver us out of your hand if He so desires. Whether or not He wants to deliver us, we do not know. That is His decision and not ours. But know this, that whether God delivers us or not, we will not bow down to your god." (Dan. 3:17, 18.) This is one of the early assertions of religious liberty.

Out of these two basic principles—first, that the Christian is an exemplary citizen rendering unselfish service to his government and paying his obligations; second, that no state has the right to dictate to his conscience—arises the doctrine of the separation of church and state, which is the cornerstone of our Republic and which has made us the apostle of religious liberty to the world. And who other than Jesus Himself has given to the world the classic statement of this great doctrine? Jesus' enemies sought to destroy His influence. They thought among themselves, "This time we'll confront him with a question that will ruin him no matter how he answers it. We'll ask him if it is right to pay taxes to Rome. If he answers Yes, he'll lose the support of the masses who worship him, for they'll conclude that he's in league with Rome, the oppressor of the people. On the other hand, if he says No, we really do have him. We'll charge him before the Roman authorities as an insurrectionist, as one teaching the people to withhold their taxes from Rome. And the Roman authorities will finish him." So they asked Him the crucial question, "Is it right to pay taxes to Caesar?" Jesus asked them to give Him a coin such as was used to pay taxes. Showing them the face of the coin He asked them whose superscription it contained. They replied, "Caesar's." Then came Jesus' telling utterance, "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's," a statement that has rung down through the ages as the classic expression of the concept of the separation of church and state.

Integrity of the Individual and Minority Groups

The founders of our country embodied this principle in our Bill of Rights. "Now look," said men like Jefferson and Madison, "this Constitution seems to be a good one. We have here a machinery of government provided with checks and balances to prevent the dictatorship of an individual or of a group. But this isn't enough. We need a document guaranteeing freedom to individuals and minorities." For after all, what is democracy? Perhaps no two of you would give exactly the same definition. To most people the essence of democracy is government by the people, which implies

Check Your Knowledge

A Christian is to be loyal to

- ☐ his God
- ☐ the state

A Christian will obey his conscience

- ☐ if the state is agreeable
- ☐ despite the state's interference

Americans enjoy religious freedom because

- ☐ church and state are separate
- ☐ the President is a Presbyterian

The Bill of Rights guarantees the rights of the

- ☐ majority
- ☐ minority

Jesus sought to win disciples by

- ☐ persuasion
- ☐ force

Liberty is secured by principles embodied in

- ☐ the heart
- ☐ the Bill of Rights

A murderer can go free in Arkansas if his deed is witnessed only by

- ☐ an atheist
- ☐ an alien

All Sunday laws are

- ☐ health laws
- ☐ religious laws

majority rule. Yet democracy goes much further than that. At the center and heart of the democratic ideal is recognition of the integrity of the individual and of minority groups. Without this there is no democracy. I often ask young people the question, "Whose rights does the Bill of Rights guarantee? The rights of the majority or the rights of the minority?" Almost invariably they answer, "The rights of the majority." Nothing could be further from the truth. The majority can usually take care of itself. The Bill of Rights protects the minority, and even the individual, from the tyranny of a majority group. Thus did the founders of the Republic provide for our liberties. And realizing that all freedoms, whether economic, academic, or civil, are rooted in the basic principle of religious liberty, they started the first ten amendments with a statement of the separation of church and state: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Thus this

country legally recognized the great principle of freedom, that no power can coerce the conscience. Jesus
✓ Himself sought to force no one, but won His disciples by persuasion, and persuasion alone.

American freedom will live only as long as we live under a government where we can think as we please, criticize as we please, and act as we please as long as we do not infringe on another's rights. "As long as our liberties are guaranteed by a document," say some, "why be alarmed?" The Bill of Rights protects only
✓ as long as it is respected. Separation of church and state in the United States has been a reality only because its principles have been in the hearts of its people. Most of our Supreme Court judges have been saturated with its ideals. It has been an American tradition. Without such a tradition a Bill of Rights would be a dead letter. Witness other countries that have constitutions modeled after our own, with broad religious liberty guarantees, but where complete freedom of conscience is denied. Most of our own States have religious freedom guarantees as strong as the guarantees of the Federal Constitution itself. Yet violations of the principle of separation of church and state do occur in this country, because principles do not enforce themselves. It takes an alert citizenry to keep religious liberty alive.

Violations of Religious Freedom

Not many years ago the town of La Grange, Georgia, handed over all municipal relief work to the Salvation Army, because of its grand work in World War I, and subsidized its charities. This was a violation of the principle of separation of church and state and of the Georgia constitution, which says, "No money shall ever be taken from the public treasury . . . in aid of any church . . . or any sectarian institution." Yet this violation continued until eventually the Georgia Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional.

The Arkansas constitution says, "No religious test
✓ shall ever be required of any person as a qualification to vote or hold office." Notice, every religious test is barred. Another part of the same constitution says, "No person who denies the being of God shall hold office in the civil department of this State, nor be competent to testify as a witness in any court." If this is not a religious test, then what is it! Do you see what is involved? If an honest and respected atheist (I hold no brief for atheists, but they are no less exemplary citizens for their lack of belief) happened to be the only person who witnessed a certain murder, the murderer could go scot free because the testimony of an atheist is inadmissible in an Arkansas court.

The State of New Jersey recently passed a bill to prohibit Sunday sale of clothing, home and office appliances and furnishings, and lumber and building materials in eighteen of New Jersey's twenty-one counties. The selling of these commodities is entirely

respectable, acceptable, and legal on other days of the week. The prohibitions legislated are not because of the act but because of the day, a religious one, on which the act is performed. As with all Sunday laws, this law is discriminatory, allowing certain types of goods to be sold on Sunday and forbidding the selling of others. It is also discriminatory in that it exempts three counties which enjoy a lucrative resort business.

It is further discriminatory in that it penalizes Orthodox Jews, Seventh-day Adventists, and Seventh Day Baptists, and others who do not believe in the sacredness of Sunday observance. Sunday blue laws date back to colonial days. It may be argued that these laws have fallen into disuse, and have long since become dead letters. But as long as they exist, they constitute a threat and a weapon in the hands of freedom's enemies.
✓ We are told to close our eyes to the religious character of Sunday laws and to interpret them as anything but religious in character—as labor laws, health laws, welfare laws. But religious laws they are, and religious laws they will remain. Here is a threat to our great American legal doctrine of separation of church and state.

These great principles were dear to the heart of our founding fathers. George Washington wrote: "If I could have entertained the slightest apprehension that the Constitution framed by the convention where I had the honor to preside might possibly endanger the religious rights of any ecclesiastical society, certainly I would never have placed my signature to it; and if I could now conceive that the general government might ever be so administered as to render the liberty of conscience insecure, I beg you will be persuaded that no one would be more zealous than myself to establish effectual barriers against the horrors of spiritual tyranny and every species of religious persecution." Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. May our prayer be the prayer of the great hymn "America"—"Our fathers' God, to Thee, Author of liberty, to Thee we sing. Long may our land be bright with freedom's holy light."

Letters

From page 4

church and state are kept separate, in which the state does not dictate to the church and the church does not seek to dominate the state. What Luther taught as the ideal, but was never able to put into practice in his day, has come to fruition in our own United States of America.

"The Swedish crisis should also make us resist all efforts to rob us of our liberty in this field. We have this 'wall of separation.' Yet to some it is a wall of mud, and breaches have been, and are being, attempted. Descendants of groups who fled Europe to escape governmental religious control are in one way or another mixing church and state. The endeavors of some misguided Christians to put Jesus Christ into the

Turn to page 27



Champion of RELIGIOUS T

ON THE honor roll of early champions of freedom of religion and conscience no name glows with greater radiance than that of John Clarke, M.D., physician, theologian, statesman, and founder of Portsmouth and Newport, Rhode Island.

Born in Suffolk, England, October 8, 1609, he received a liberal education in medicine, theology, and law at one of the universities, but which one is not known. During his studies he became a Puritan of the Roger Williams type, who advocated limiting the king's prerogative to civil matters only, and insisted upon full religious freedom for all. After graduation he practiced medicine for a time in London, but in 1637 came to Massachusetts to escape the persecutions to which dissenters were subject.

Upon arriving in Boston, he was surprised to find, as he said, that men "were not able to bear with one another in their different understandings and consciences as in these utmost parts of the world to live peaceable together." The particular matters to which he referred were the banishment of Roger Williams and the controversy on the subject of antinomianism. His brief observation of the repressive, intolerant spirit of the General Court led him to conclude that Massachusetts was too much like the England from which he had fled.

Being a man of action, he boldly determined to follow the example of Roger Williams, found a new colony, and incorporate in its fundamental law the principles of complete freedom of religion and conscience. Together with a number of his friends, he located near Dover, New Hampshire. After experiencing much misery during the winter of 1637-38, the settlers abandoned their new colony and set out toward the south by sea the following spring. Just what their destination was is not clear, but after a journey of some days they reached Cape Cod, where they disembarked and set out for Providence, Rhode Island, by land. Upon arrival they were warmly received by Roger Williams, who advised them to settle near his own colony in the Narragansett region. With his help they purchased Aquidneck Island (Rhode Island) from the Indians. The deed was dated March 24, 1638.

The island, deservedly called "the Paradise of New England," was obtained, said Williams, not by "price nor money," but by "love and favor which, . . . Sir Henry Vane and myself, had with that great Sachem, Miantonomo." Previous to its purchase, on March 7, 1638, the eighteen men in Clarke's party, probably following the example of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, signed the following compact:

"We, whose names are underwritten, do here solemnly, in the presence of Jehovah, incorporate ourselves into a body politic, and as he shall help, will submit our persons, lives and estates unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords, and to all those most perfect laws of his, given us, in his most holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby."

The majority of the signers of this compact, which is supposed to have been written by Clarke himself, were Puritans, and members of John Cotton's church in Boston. Claiming Bible warrant for their form of government, they granted all men complete religious freedom. No one living under the compact was to be accounted "delinquent for doctrine." The magistrate

John Clark advocated religious freedom in a day when even the friends of political liberty doubted its wisdom.

RAYMOND W. SETTLE

S TOLERATION

could punish only "breaches of the law of God that tended to civil disturbances," and the most complete personal liberty consistent with the stability of government was provided.

Roger Williams and the people of Providence had adopted a similar compact. Thus in the Narragansett region there were two miniature democratic commonwealths founded by champions of religious liberty.

The settlement made by Clarke and his party in 1638 on Rhode Island was on the eastern shore near the north end, and was first called Pocasset. Later the name was changed to Portsmouth. The following spring Clarke and others moved ten miles down the island and established the town of Newport on the western shore. These settlements were united under the original compact with the same government and officers.

One of the first concerns of the settlers at Newport was the formation of a church "on the scheme and principles of the Baptists," of which Clarke was elected pastor, or teaching elder, a position he held until 1676. With Newport as his base, he made missionary tours in various directions, and members were added to his church in remote sections of the country, such as Rehoboth, Hingham, and Weymouth in Massachusetts.

Both communities became havens for representatives of all the dissenting religious opinions of the day. Among them were liberals of every description, opponents of theocracy and established churches, and troublesome people who were driven out of the other colonies, or emigrated of their own free will. The result was a scene of more or less confusion, through which Clarke and Williams moved with undisturbed confidence.

In 1643 Roger Williams was sent to England by Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport to secure a charter for a colony. This instrument was subsequently issued by Parliament to the "Incorporation of Providence Plantations in the Narragansett Bay in New England." Only a charter of incorporation, it contained no land

grant. In spite of this defect, however, it gave the people the right to govern themselves. When the colony assembly met it declared that "the form of government is democratical—that is to say, a government held by the free and voluntary consent of all, or the greater part of the free inhabitants." The charter practically confirmed this new form of democracy by granting the colony power to make laws.

In 1648 William Coddington obtained a separate charter for Portsmouth and Newport, in which complete religious and political freedom were granted. The division of the colony was unsatisfactory, and a bitter quarrel ensued that did not subside until another charter was secured.

Because of its adherence to the principle of religious freedom, the settlement at Providence was opposed from the beginning by the rigid Puritan government of Massachusetts. In 1638, while Clarke and his party were negotiating for Aquidneck Island, the General Court of Massachusetts passed a law that virtually excluded the inhabitants of Rhode Island from entering it. In July, 1651, Clarke, Obadiah Holmes, an ancestor of President Abraham Lincoln, and John Crandall, traveled to Lynn, Massachusetts to visit aged, infirm William Witter, a remote member of the Newport church, to administer baptism and the Lord's Supper to a group of his neighbors who held Baptist views. The day after the visitors arrived, they were arrested. After spending the night in custody they were taken to Boston and put in prison.

About two weeks later the three men were haled before the General Court, which, as Clarke said, "without producing either accuser, witness, jury, law of God, or man," sentenced Clarke to pay a fine of twenty pounds, Holmes thirty pounds, and Crandall five pounds, or be well whipped. Some unknown friend paid Clarke's and Crandall's. Holmes refused to allow his to be paid by another, and was brutally whipped on Boston Common.

The law under which they were arrested was passed in 1644 to drive Baptists from Massachusetts and discourage others from locating within its borders. The offense of these people, whose number was not large, was that they spoke against the union of church and state and infant baptism, and in favor of religious liberty. Although fully aware of this law Clarke and his friends boldly chose to defy it. After his fine had been paid Clarke offered to debate the issues involved in the case with anyone the court might appoint, but his offer was declined.

The charter for Portsmouth and Newport, secured by Coddington in 1648, by which Rhode Island was divided, proved so unsatisfactory to the people of those towns that in 1651 Clarke was appointed to go to England to obtain its repeal. An assembly of the towns of Providence and Warwick chose Roger Williams to accompany him as their representative. After considerable difficulty they gained permission from the General Court of Massachusetts to embark at Boston. Obadiah Holmes, only partially recovered from his punishment on Boston Common, took Clarke's place as elder and preacher to the church at Newport.

In the years following Williams' first journey to England in 1643 profound changes had occurred in the political and the ecclesiastical structures of the mother country. The king had been executed, the Houses of Commons and Lords dissolved, the Commonwealth, under Oliver Cromwell, was established, the Episcopacy abolished, and the Assembly of Presbyterian Divines made practically defunct. Power was vested in the Council of State over which Cromwell presided. On their arrival in London, Clarke and Williams presented a petition to the Council asking that the Coddington charter be revoked, and that secured by Williams in 1644 be restored. Although they met with considerable opposition at first they persisted in their efforts with such success that the obnoxious charter was repealed and the Rhode Island towns directed to unite under the first instrument.

In 1654 Williams returned to Rhode Island, leaving Clarke alone to represent the reunited colony and plead for a new charter in which religious freedom was guaranteed. To this task he dedicated both his powers of personal persuasion and his facile pen. His book *Ill Newes from New England: or a Narrative of New England Persecution, Wherein is declared, That while Old England is becoming New, New England is becoming Old*, wherein he described the persecution suffered by Baptists and others in Massachusetts, created a sensation in England. This book shares with Roger Williams' *Bloody Tenent of Persecution* the honor of advocating freedom of religion in a day when even the friends of political liberty doubted its wisdom. Clarke successfully parried the blows of the colony's enemies both in England and in America, but was unable to secure from Cromwell the desired new charter.

When news of the accession of Charles II in 1660 reached Rhode Island, a new commission was sent to Clarke. Skillfully he pushed forward his negotiations, and on July 8, 1663, the king granted a new charter to the "Rhode Island and Providence Plantations." The extraordinary instrument, which differed from any granted the other colonies in both its civil and religious guarantees, was received by the colonists with demonstrations of joy. Well might they rejoice, for its liberal provisions gave the people the right to choose their own officers. The first governor and his assistants, who would serve until the following May, were appointed by the king. Benedict Arnold became governor, and both Clarke and Williams were elected to the General Assembly.

This important charter, which crowned the labor of twelve years on the part of Clarke, was influential in shaping the ideals and principles of the nation yet to be. A portion of the section relating to freedom of religion read:

"No person within the said colony, at any time hereafter, shall be anywise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any differences of opinion or matters of religion . . . but that all and every person and persons . . . may . . . at all times hereafter freely and fully have and enjoy his own and their own judgments and consciences, in matters of religious concerns, throughout the tract of land hereafter mentioned." While yet retaining this charter Rhode Island adopted the Constitution of the United States and continued to operate under it until 1843.

Upon his return home Clarke resumed his duties with the Baptist Church at Newport. In 1664 he was chief commissioner for determining the western boundary of the colony, and was the same year chairman of a committee to codify the laws. Two years later he was appointed alone to "compose all the laws into a good method and order, leaving out what may be superfluous, and adding what may appear unto him necessary." In 1664 and again in 1671 he was elected Deputy Governor.

After his retirement from public service in 1672 Clarke continued to be honored as an elder statesman whose counsels were sought in critical times. Only six days before his death on April 20, 1676 he was summoned to the General Assembly, which desired "the advice and the concurrence of the most judicious inhabitants in the troublous times and straits into which the colony has been brought." He left most of his property in the hands of trustees for religious and educational purposes, and the last act of his life was to establish a free school, the first of its kind in America, if not in the whole world.

Clarke was a man of extraordinary ability and endowments of both heart and mind. He was a competent Hebrew and Greek scholar, well grounded in medicine and theology, and thoroughly experienced in diplomatic

and political life. Though hard pressed at times by public interests he continued the practice of medicine and his pastoral service to the church until his death. He wrote a confession of faith that was strongly Calvinistic, and his views of Christian doctrine were so clear and scriptural that they might stand as a confession of faith of Baptists today.

With Roger Williams he shares the honor of fearlessly and at great cost advocating civil and religious liberty in an age when both were cruelly restricted. Together, both labored harmoniously to establish the first government upon the earth that dared to give those liberties to all men living under it. ★★★

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Letters

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Federal constitution are relatively easy to counteract. Branded as extremely unlikely by naïve and unsuspecting citizens is the possibility of a large church body's getting control of the government if it attains majority vote. Is there a subtle danger lurking in eventual governmental control in exchange for Federal financial aid to church groups?

"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty! The camel's nose grows when once it enters the tent! Separation of church and state is the Lutheran principle and Constitutional Americanism. And it's scriptural: 'To Caesar the things of Caesar! To God the things of God!'" —*The Lutheran Witness*, official magazine of the Lutheran Church (Missouri Synod), March 8, 1960.

LAYMAN OUTDIAGNOSES M.D.

GENTLEMEN:

Please remove my name from your mailing list. . . .

This publication is an excellent example of the work of those "liberals" who would replace a form of bigotry, unpleasing to them, with another form of bigotry and prejudice, controllable by them.—R. A. T., M.D., *Birmingham, Mich.*

DEAR SIR:

A copy of your magazine was loaned to me and I noticed how very fair you are to all religions. We would like to have your paper in our Theocratic library. So here is my subscription for three years. . . .—Mrs. R. H. R., *Knoxville, Illinois*.

LIBERTY IN FAR EAST

SIR:

We wish to acknowledge with many thanks the receipt of *LIBERTY*, vol. 54 (1959), 4 vols. which was recently received through your courtesy.—University of Tokio Library.

JULY-AUGUST

A CHECK ON LIBERTY WE APPROVE OF

GENTLEMEN:

Some time ago I discovered a copy of *LIBERTY* in an attorney's office. I was much impressed with it. I have been a victim of fanatics in my own church. I wore the uniform during World War II in behalf of freedom. But sometimes I wonder if it was in vain when I see others who were "too good" to wear the uniform apparently succeeding in their intolerant attitudes. Enclosed is my check for a subscription to *LIBERTY*. —S. D., *Denver, Colorado*.

The Tyranny of Technology

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takes from us some part of our essential humanness, the quality in us which strives toward freedom and democratic maturity."

How can the trend toward tyranny be reversed and freedoms secured?

First, man must rediscover the eyes of his soul. He must establish again a correct relationship to the true Center of things, must see that "behind the dim unknown, Standeth God within the shadow, Keeping watch above His own." The principles governing the unseen world must become again the principles of the seen. Then will no confusion exist between legal form and living substance; then will no man coerce his neighbor, no freedom be insecure; and earth will once more become the "shadow of heaven."

Second, he must gain a new appreciation of his heritage and destiny. The value placed upon man in the Christian philosophy is brought most clearly into focus at Calvary. No hapless victim of an assembly line he; no expendable microcosm in the machinery of the universe, but a son of God!—possessor of a noble heritage and exalted destiny. In the concept of sonship exists firm philosophical basis for liberty. For he who acknowledges himself God's son admits the fatherhood of God. He who admits the fatherhood of God admits the brotherhood of man. And can he who admits the brotherhood of man ask less freedom for another than for himself? Is not the "law of liberty" (James 2:12) in essence that one love the Lord with all his soul and all his mind and all his heart, and his neighbor—his brother—as himself?

Third, he must again establish his life upon the foundation of moral law. The American nation was founded upon moral truths, absolute truths. Said John Foster Dulles: "Our nation was founded as an experiment in human liberty. Its institutions reflect the belief of our founders that men had their origin and destiny in God; that they were endowed by Him with inalienable rights and had duties prescribed by moral law, and that human institutions ought primarily to help men develop their God-given possibilities."¹⁰ In man's return to moral law is found hope for lasting freedom, for rights prescribed by moral law do not change. But

forces which condition man to build his philosophy on the shifting sands of social mores rather than on the solid rock of moral law, undermine the very foundation of all liberties.

Fourth, he must cultivate warm, empathic human relationships. Man is not a machine, nor is he a self-contained unit capable of existing apart from relationships. Thus, happy relationships of man with man are not only a requirement but a necessity of human nature. In brotherhood, in mutuality, the most basic human needs are satisfied, needs that are accentuated by the impersonal machine. Empathic relationships are doubly essential in a pluralistic society, a society in which men and women of differing faiths and beliefs are called upon to live together in harmony, each concerned for the welfare and freedom of all.

A Matter of Vision

A blind man was once brought to Jesus, with the request that He should touch him. Taking the blind man outside the village, Jesus moistened his eyes with saliva and asked, "Can you see at all?"

"The man looked up and said, 'I can see people. They look like trees—only they are walking about.'"¹¹

This was improvement; a new world had become visible to one who had been in darkness, but it was still out of focus. Animate and inanimate were confused; human values could not be distinguished from trees.

"Then Jesus put his hands on his eyes once more and his sight came into focus, and he recovered and saw everything sharp and clear."¹²

This is the great need of modern man, that human values and technological values not be confused, that with vision sharp and clear he distinguish between man and machine, between tyranny and freedom—and have the sense to understand which is at the true center of things. ★★★

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Stanley Mosk Interview

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with unequal taxation. If I'm in the field of politics, I'm concerned with freedom of speech, but seldom is a businessman concerned with freedom of press, or a newspaperman with invasion of freedoms that do not directly affect him. A person feels deeply about his own religion, and he therefore is interested in the protection of his religion. But all too often he fails to appreciate the ultimate

consequences of attempting to use the resources of the state in order to perpetuate his religion or religion generally. In reality, an invasion of anyone's rights is an invasion of everyone's rights.

When in early colonial days James Madison fought against efforts to have the State of Virginia support organized religion, he was fighting against state religion in America. No state religion meant freedom for all religions on a basis of equality. It meant that religion must support itself by its own strength, its own resources. Once religion attempts to make use of the resources of the state to survive or to grow, it is using resources not only of its own members but of members of other denominations. This is a dangerous situation—dangerous, first of all, because the resources of the state are being used unwisely (resources of minority religions would then be taxed for the benefit of majority religions). It is dangerous also because experience has shown that when the wall of separation between church and state breaks down, one ultimately dominates the other. I think it is just as dangerous for the state to try to dominate religion as it is for religion to attempt to dominate the state. Neither works well; each must have its own sphere completely independent of the other.

Q. Why is there so much apathy on the part of legislators, jurists, and the general public regarding church-state relationships? What can be done to awaken citizens to the perils that face religious freedom?

A. Our legislators are products of our system of education. If education has failed people generally, it has likewise failed those who are now serving as our legislators and public officials. In addition, of course, there is sometimes a certain lack of courage on the part of people in public life. They hesitate to say or to do anything that might be construed as opposing the aims of those who strive to inject religion into the civic life of communities and of state.

All of us have a responsibility to attempt to awaken individuals and groups to the dangers of any effort toward breaking down the wall of separation between church and state. We must convince them that this is contrary to the American heritage. We would be untrue to those whose wisdom gave us the Constitution and the Bill of Rights should we permit any breakdown. One way these principles can be reinforced is by civic groups interesting themselves in the problem and performing an educative function in their communities.

Q. How can our constitutionally guaranteed freedoms best be guarded today?

A. The best way in which our freedoms may be guarded is by constant vigilance of all our citizens. Unfortunately, too many people believe that they can relax because our guarantees are contained in the Constitution,

and particularly in the Bill of Rights. This is not true. Every generation must be alert to its responsibilities, and it seems that we must constantly fight anew for preservation of our liberties. Many centuries ago Solon, of ancient Greece, was asked how justice could be achieved in his society. He answered in a way that I think is a good lesson for all of us. Solon said that justice will be achieved in a community only when those who are not injured feel as indignant as those who are.

Q. As Attorney General of California you view developments from a perspective many others do not have. Are there specific religious liberty problems facing California on which you would like to comment?

A. We have been singularly fortunate in California in being faced with fewer of these problems than exist in many other States. I have spoken of problems without any particular reference to my own State. For example, we have not had Sunday blue laws in California in modern times, nor any compulsory closing laws here, such as have been enacted in other communities. There is a better climate of complete religious freedom and respect for the doctrine of separation of church and state in California than in many other States.

We're coming to a political campaign in this year of 1960, and there may be some religious tensions raised during its course. I hope that this will not be so. I hope, rather, that we shall experience a political campaign on the major issues which trouble our nation and world. ★★★

The Somewhat Disorganized Man

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within the larger groups or societies are the smaller ones. The small may become great in time, but then can they remain flexible enough with increased size and hardened dogma to permit true individualism within them? Even while they criticize, they are being criticized.

Society and the Rebel

Though we cannot deny the obligations of the individual to society, neither can we ignore the obligations of society to the individual—to the rebel. Rebels often possess Truth with a capital T. As we have observed, however, success leads them back into organization—whether it is a General Motors or a schismatic church. Since truth is not revealed in a single flash of light, the difficulty is to keep open the avenues to truth so as to guarantee further progress. Yesterday's rebel must not be allowed, through authority and organization, to stifle today's nonconformist.

The more power an organization has over an individ-

ual the more essential it is that he recognize areas where he must and can assert himself against it. Otherwise the individual simply sinks quietly out of sight as in a lake of molasses.

The problem of conformity also has its bearing on the religious field. If religion is just a measure of social control then certainly it is in bad taste to fuss over doctrinal differences. Join the group and enjoy cut-rate psychotherapy! Any group! In the social setting, minorities would have nothing to contribute besides discomfort and a rending of togetherness.

Historically the small religious groups have had important contributions to make—important enough to run the risk of some overlapping of facilities, debate, and even a little name-calling. Writes John Bennett, "A dominant church may hide the gospel from many people. If it does that, it is better for them to be able to find an alternative church than for them to reject Christianity."¹

Organization is made by man and is changeable by man. Fatalism, then, does not need to follow in our situation. We should not blame organization for our plight, for it is but an instrument. We should rather blame ourselves for worship of society and the group mind.

What to Do

What, then, can we do? First, let us not insist on drawing a line between courage and stubbornness. As a society we should not worry unduly about whether the individualist's stand is made in the proper place or in the proper spirit. Rather we should protect his right to take his stand, for "no one is compelled to listen, no one is compelled to buy; and no one is prohibited from making extravagant claims for his own brand of salvation, or from making a fool of himself."²

Then let us cherish the areas of free choice we have left, being careful when we give ground that it is not merely for the comfort we get in conforming. Instead of trying to induce peace of mind for all hands, we might also try fanning what flame is left of initiative and imagination. Above all, we should respect and support those who are brave enough to stand for convictions even if we differ from them considerably. In later years there may prove to be hidden dividends. A deviant group may have chanced upon a spark of truth unnoticed but needed by society. They should be encouraged to develop it as freely as possible. Differing ideas will correct and chasten one another.

There must always be conflict of ideas. Organization and efficiency alone will not save us. Woodrow Wilson said that "the history of Liberty is a history of resistance." The most important resistance today may well be resistance against our own instincts to "belong." ★★★

¹ WILLIAM H. WHYTE, *The Organization Man* (New York: 1957), Doubleday Anchor edition, p. 13.

² JOHN C. BENNETT, *Christians and the State* (New York: 1958), p. 224.

³ MILTON R. KONVITZ, *Fundamental Liberties of a Free People* (Cornell University Press: 1957), p. 106, quoting a speech of Sept. 9, 1912.

WHAT IS BIGOTRY?

SHOULD a man be called a bigot because he raises questions about a candidate's fitness for the Presidency—questions engendered by the candidate's religion? In this country, of course, a candidate's religion does not normally affect his eligibility for office. But when the official policy and practice of the church to which he is in conscience beholden stand categorically opposed to the traditional American principles of religious liberty and the separation of church and state, those who cherish these ideals can hardly be expected to remain silent. Any potential threat to religious freedom is, after all, an affair of vital concern. Accordingly, it becomes appropriate for us to ask what bigotry really is.

Most people rightly look upon bigotry as a form of intellectual leprosy. "Bigot" is generally considered to be a superlatively derogatory epithet; in fact, it is one of the ugliest words in the English language. The dictionary defines a bigot as "one obstinately and irrationally, often intolerantly, devoted to his own church, party, belief, or opinion." The distinguishing characteristic of a bigot, we suggest, is an attitude of mind that stoutly denies to others the same rights and privileges he claims for himself. Bigotry may thus be identified, in the last analysis, as failure to practice the golden rule—to do as one would be done by—particularly in matters of religious belief and practice.

In the Realm of Opinions and Beliefs

A bigot's intellectual processes are dominated by his emotions to the extent that he becomes either unable or unwilling to reason solely on the basis of factual evidence. He proceeds on the assumption that his own opinion—or that of his church—is necessarily without flaw and that differing opinions are, *ipso facto*, fallacious. Indeed, the door to his mind is bolted and barred against all facts that might require him to abandon preconceived opinions.

From another point of view bigotry is a symptom of intellectual immaturity. It is a provincial attitude that, to paraphrase Tennyson, mistakes the rustic murmur of one's own intellectual bourg for the great wave of truth that echoes round the world. The bigot assumes the narrow circle of his own thinking processes to be the sum and substance of knowledge, understanding, and wisdom. He is unwilling to consider the possibility that anything of importance lies beyond the low hills that rim the horizon of his little valley, and in his Ptolemaic naïveté he looks upon his own little world of experience and opinion as the focal center around which all other minds must be brought into orbit.

The spirit of bigotry often takes men down from a sober consideration of objective facts to the so-called *ad hominem* level of argument, that is, to a personal attack on one's opponent in an attempt to bury him beneath an avalanche of ridicule or invective. The bigot is ever ready to hurl gratuitous insults right and left at any who dare to disagree with him. By way of illustration, a certain Congressman recently sponsored a joint Congressional resolution proposing that the United States establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican. In a supporting statement he termed "ridiculous" the charge he anticipated some would make that his proposal would in any way constitute favoritism toward his particular religion. He branded it "unthinkable that any reasonable man" would raise an objection to his proposal, and labeled as "wholly fantastic" any arguments that might be raised against it. The bigot has utter contempt for any point of view other than his own. Confirmed bigotry is a closed mind in a state of rigor mortis—and, we might add, in desperate need of extreme unction.

Too often bigotry poses as a superior form of piety. As with the Pharisee in the parable, the spirit of bigotry also leads one Christian to assume that he is more righteous than his fellows, to engage in conspicuous and sometimes erratic practices he supposes will set him apart as more pious than they, and to censure all who fail to follow his example. It makes him adamant and vocal about his own interpretation of Scripture and intolerant of the views of others to the point of preventing, if possible, objective consideration of points of view that differ from his own.

In the Realm of Authority and Coercion

As long as the bigot conceals his real attitude by avoiding demeanor, words, or conduct that would reveal it, his attitude is of no practical concern to others. But bigotry, by its very nature, cries for expression. It cannot be content with an inarticulate existence, and therefore seeks to silence all men of contrary opinion—by force wherever possible and by vilifying them and branding them as bigots or heretics wherever coercive measures are not possible or expedient. At one and the same time the bigot may present himself as a great champion of what he calls religious freedom, the while he surreptitiously seeks for himself a dominant position in a pluralistic society and brands as bigots those who challenge the unfair tactics he uses to attain this status.

Furthermore, it always takes a bigot to persecute. It was bigotry that led to the twelfth-century crusade to exterminate the Albigenses, and later to root out the Waldensian Christians from their Piedmont Valleys. It was bigotry that precipitated the Spanish Inquisition under Torquemada, the massacre of Saint

Bartholomew in France, and the reign of blood under the Duke of Alva in the Low Countries. On a lesser scale in more recent years, religious bigotry has reaped its gory harvest in Colombia and other lands.

Of course, bigotry is a two-way street; Catholics fled England under the intolerant hands of James I and Elizabeth I, and suffered under the Puritans of the American Colonies. However, the two-way street is six lanes one way and only one lane the other.

Where there is no overt persecution there is often covert oppression. It is bigotry that leads men to attempt to impose their particular brand of religious belief and practice upon others by law—by coercion or constraint. It calls for Sunday laws, and for its own religious festive days to be made legal holidays. It leads devotees to put their religion on parade and to erect cultic statues and monuments in public places, in an indirect attempt to force their religion on others. In lands where bigotry characterizes the religion of the majority it denies to members of other religious groups the right to a free and open practice of their religion, and sometimes even to the elemental right to get married, to educate their children, or to have the solace of Christian burial.

Let Us Practice the Golden Rule

The golden rule summons us to do to others as we would be done by, to take the same attitude toward them that we would like them to take toward us, to speak to, and concerning, them as we would like them to speak to, or of, us. It leads us to refuse, even in our thoughts, to pass judgment on other men. "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant?" inquires the apostle Paul in Romans 14:4, and then replies, "To his own master he standeth or falleth." We are individually responsible to God, and the Creator has delegated to no man the right to interpose between Himself and any of His creatures. Bigotry, whatever its form, is utterly incompatible with the golden rule.

On the one hand, let us not timidly retreat into silence when accused of bigotry because we raise valid questions in an objective spirit, and on the other, let us not be guilty ourselves of that gross error. First, last, and always, let us practice the golden rule in all dealings with our fellow men, whether it be toward members of the family circle, the church, the community, or toward those of differing religious convictions—even though they be confirmed bigots. May God ever give us the grace to maintain emotional equilibrium, especially when others lose theirs!

RAYMOND F. COTTRELL

Associate Editor, *Review and Herald*

OF BLUE LAWS (AND RED HAMPS)

SUNDAY BLUE LAWS are not right or American or Christian, just because they are:

1. *Old.* Age is not in itself a test of goodness or badness.
2. *Found* on the statute books of most States.

3. *Motivated* by humanitarian and religious thinking.

4. *Promoted* by members of the clergy.

5. *Designed* to help men keep the fourth commandment of the Decalogue.

6. *Said* to favor the greater good for the greater number.

Sunday laws *are* older than the Republic.

They *do* have the support of a lot of ministers.

And these sound like good arguments. But they are not good arguments. Only statements of fact that prove nothing at all.

Sunday blue laws are anti-Christian and anti-American in that they reduce to the status of second-class citizens—

1. All those who for one religious reason or another choose to worship on a day other than Sunday.

2. All those who for one reason or another choose not to worship on any day at all.

3. All those who for reasons they are not required to disclose to anyone else belong to Sundaykeeping churches but attend their churches either infrequently, irregularly, or not at all.

It is this large and unvocal majority of the population of the United States who are told by the well-organized and vocal minority that having one day of the week for rest, relaxation, and family togetherness, et cetera, is a "social necessity."

This argument drives the executive branch of whatever government is involved into the impossible business of discriminating between necessary and unnecessary functions of buying and selling and other human relationships. The government of city, county, state, or nation has no equipment for distinguishing between necessities and luxuries, and not anywhere near enough facilities for enforcing such an utterly impossible distinction. Distinction comes to be made on the basis of special interests. Witness the following:

Sunday O.K. on Ham

Richmond, Va., March 7 (UPI)—

The Virginia Legislature today solemnly exempted one of the State's proudest products—Smithfield hams—from a Sunday closing law. The House of Delegates voted 80-1 to permit Sunday sale of the hams, the only food product requiring cooking which can be legally sold under the new law.

This country does not need, nor could it get if the need could be demonstrated, the kind of security offered by those who back the Sunday blue law enforcement program.

Any security, no matter how great or far reaching or humanitarian, won at the cost of freedom, no matter how small, should be called by some other name. For it is not security at all. It is slavery.

DONALD F. HAYNES, *Washington, D.C.*



world report

UNITED STATES

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.—Pennsylvania's 1959 law prohibiting retailing of nonessential merchandise on Sundays has been held unconstitutional by Judge Raymond Pace Alexander in Common Pleas Court.

Judge Alexander ruled in a case involving a discount house, Bargain City, that the law is void under both State and Federal constitutions "because it prefers certain Christian religions over all others and contributes to their establishment."

"Neither Sunday, Saturday or Friday or any other day . . . is a holy day or can constitutionally be a holy day within the eyes of the law," Judge Alexander said.

"The Pennsylvania legislature cannot sanctify or honor or compel observance or respect for any such day, or the religious tenets it commemorates," he added.

In effect, Judge Alexander's ruling bans prosecution in Philadelphia for violation of the Sunday sales law pending appeal to a higher court.

Trenton, New Jersey.—By a 4-2 decision the New Jersey Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the State's 1959 Sunday closing law.

The controversial ban, which prohibits the sale of certain "unessential" items on Sunday, was voted by public referendum in 12 of the State's 21 counties on November 3.

In upholding the law, the court majority declared null and void an all-inclusive 1951 measure which left the municipalities the power to enact their own blue laws within the scope of a nearly three-centuries-old Sunday measure that the court said was "inconsistent and puritanical in theme."

At the same time, the high court remanded the case to the superior court on the question of whether the 1959 act denied equal protection under the law through its classification of what might be sold on Sunday.

It did so, however, after declaring that the plaintiffs, Two Guys From Harrison, Inc., and The Chanel Lumber Company, two large highway discount markets, had failed to prove their contention that the current law violated the principle of church-state separation.

Noting that the First Amendment to the Constitution clearly says that a State "shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion," Justice Weintraud, who wrote the majority opinion, said the 1951 law went

far beyond the point of public health and welfare and had a religious connotation.

In writing the minority opinion, Justice John J. Francis said that "the new enactment, which was expressly called a Sunday closing law by the legislature, has been metamorphosed into a Sunday opening law."

Boston, Massachusetts.—The whimsey of Massachusetts Sunday closing laws, under which automatic laundry establishment operation on Sunday is forbidden in one city and allowed in another, was spotlighted when two district courts rendered opposite verdicts for identical alleged offenses.

In Malden, Judge Lawrence G. Brooks ruled that Lester C. Gaul, a Seventh-day Adventist, was innocent of such a violation, with which he had been charged by neighbors. Judge Brooks said an automatic laundry is not a shop but a "secular business" whose operation on Sundays does not violate any law. At Fitchburg three similar offenders were found guilty in district court and paid fines of \$25 each. Their cases are under appeal in superior court.

Massachusetts laws forbid operation of a shop, workhouse, or warehouse on Sunday. The Malden judge ruled that an automatic laundry is a service involving the lease of equipment and is thus excluded from the shop category.

Pueblo, Colorado.—Two labor unions, the Roman Catholic Diocese of Pueblo, and four Protestant organizations cooperated in distributing leaflets to Pueblo homes urging residents to refrain from Sunday shopping.

Protestant groups participating in the project were the Council of Churches, Ministerial Alliance, Fundamental Pastors Alliance, and the United Christian Youth Movement.

The labor groups were the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and the Retail Clerks Union.

Competition in certain retail lines threatens to commercialize Sunday, the leaflet warned. It asked residents "to make Sunday business unprofitable" by buying on weekdays.

Minneapolis, Minnesota.—A majority of Minnesotans, 62 per cent, approve of shopping on Sundays, generally with purchases being limited to "necessary things, like drugs, food, or gasoline," according to a survey made by the Minnesota poll.

On the other hand, 28 per cent favor having a law that would prohibit all or most kinds of Sunday shopping.

Ten per cent of the people like to avoid shopping on Sundays as much as possible, but have no objection if other people choose to shop then.

Urban and college-educated persons were found to have less opposition to Sunday business than rural and less-educated residents.

In Minnesota certain types of establishments, such as restaurants and drugstores, are permitted to operate on Sundays. Other businesses, automobile dealers for example, are specifically forbidden to be open on Sundays.

EGYPT

Cairo.—A spokesman for the Orthodox Coptic Patriarchate has announced that Sheikh Abdullah Al-Salem Al Sabah, ruler of Kuwait, has given permission for the establishment of an Orthodox church in his predominantly Moslem country.

This marks the first time that any Christian body has been allowed to set up a worship center in Kuwait.

EAST GERMANY

Berlin.—Representatives of all regional Evangelical churches and the Moravian Brethren Church in East Germany have set up a joint Ecumenical-Missionary Council to direct and coordinate the churches' missionary efforts in Africa and Asia and establish direct contacts with the native churches of these continents.

IRELAND

Belfast.—A Methodist minister from Eire paid tribute to the fair treatment given to the Protestant minority by the government of the 26-county Southern Irish Government.

The Reverend R. C. Livingstone, chairman of the Waterford and Tullamore district of the Irish Methodist Church, said that "under the Eire constitution the Protestants were guaranteed religious freedom, and there has not been a single act of official persecution or suppression."

"Indeed," added Mr. Livingstone, who is also principal of the Gurteen Agricultural College, County Tipperary, a Methodist institution, "the Eire Government is being just to us, and in many cases, generous."

He reported that since the establishment in 1922 of the Irish Free State—now the Republic of Eire—Protestants in the South had dwindled from 400,000 to 150,000. And he said the number would decline still further.

He stressed, however, that it was not something "from outside their own ranks" that threatened to destroy the Protestants of Eire—Anglicans, Methodists, and Presbyterians—but "a weakness inside us."

"Unfortunately," Mr. Livingstone commented, "they are a dispirited people, with hundreds of nonchurchgoers and dozens whose standards have declined. They have lost the integrity for which their fathers were noted, and are Protestants only in name."

ITALY

Rome.—Italian Pentecostals have obtained official recognition by government authorities and will now be known as the "Assemblies of God in Italy."

Pentecostal leaders, whose efforts to achieve official status for the group began at the end of World War II, expressed deep satisfaction over their new advantages, which include authorization to own real estate.

There are some 500 Pentecostal groups or communities throughout Italy, with a total baptized adult membership estimated at 60,000 persons, according to the latest statistics. Relatives and sympathizers are said to bring the denomination's total number of adherents to around 100,000.

Rome.—Donato Cretarolo, 80-year-old elder of the Baptist Church in Italy, was acquitted by an appeals court in Aquila of charges of insulting the Roman Catholic religion.

He had been given a 15-day jail term by a court in Avezzano last year after he had posted placards at the village of San Benedetto del Marsi near Aquila claiming that Protestants were more faithful to Christian principles than Catholics.

Signor Cretarolo acted after the local Catholic pastor allegedly had publicly criticized a parishioner for allowing her daughter to marry a Baptist and deprived her of the sacraments.

The Baptist elder was sentenced by the Avezzano court under Article 402 of the Italian penal code which makes it a punishable offense to "insult the religion of the state."

However, the appeals court dismissed the case against him on the grounds that his action did not constitute vilification of the Catholic religion. It said Protestants may criticize the Catholic Church publicly in Italy as long as they do not insult it.

Vatican City.—Dutch-born Archbishop Martin Lucas, of the Society of the Divine Word, has been named by Pope John XXIII as the first apostolic delegate to the Scandinavian countries.

An apostolic delegate is a papal representative in a country having no regular diplomatic relations with the

Vatican, and his duties are purely ecclesiastical. The Scandinavian countries number about 60,000 Catholics in a total population of around 20 million.

POLAND

London, England.—Sharp opposition to the Polish Government's birth control campaign, voiced by the Roman Catholic hierarchy in a Lenten pastoral letter, has created new difficulties in church-state relations in the Communist country, according to informed Polish Catholic *émigré* circles.

They said that a scheduled meeting of a mixed commission of church and government representatives in Warsaw to discuss current church-state issues was postponed indefinitely when both sides made it plain that neither was prepared to yield on the birth control question.

According to London informants the commission suggested a personal meeting between Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński, Primate of Poland, and government leader Władysław Gomułka as the only way to break the deadlock.

SWITZERLAND

Neuchâtel.—A proposal to make church taxes compulsory instead of voluntary in the predominantly Protestant canton was defeated in a popular referendum by a 40,394 to 11,419 vote.

The proposal would have meant a constitutional amendment making even those who claim no religious allegiance subject to church tax. Under the existing system taxes for the support of Protestant and Roman Catholic churches are paid only by those whose income tax returns indicate a religious affiliation.

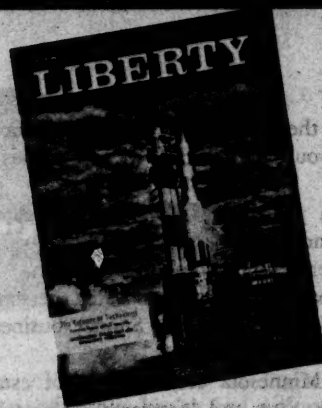
Fifty-seven per cent of the voters of the canton, where women have the suffrage as well as men, turned out for the referendum.

YUGOSLAVIA

Belgrade.—More than 100 Serbian Orthodox priests and seminarians attended a special two-day seminar on church-state relations organized by the government-sponsored association of Orthodox priests.

The course was the first of its kind ever conducted in the country to familiarize clergymen and seminarians with the policies and objectives of the Tito regime.

The participants were lectured also on the political and economic achievements of the Communist regime. Between courses they visited a number of industrial plants.



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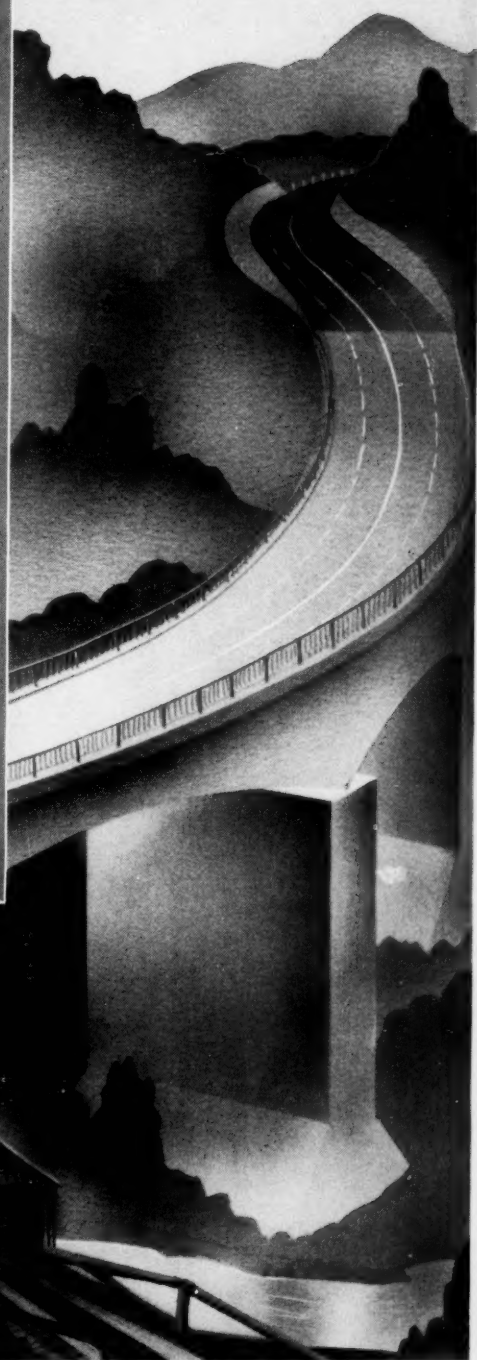
NEWER HIGHWAYS

By Harvey Edgar Barbee

From out the struggling past
Into contemporary age of ease
We ramble, drunk and giddy, fast
Forgetting where we left the keys,
Forged from precious ores of other lands—
Keys we took from trusting hands.

O God, forbid that we should lose
The richness of our heritage
For deftness in our modern muse;
Guard well the *antiquated* page.
The newer highways cross the fading trail,
And lore and legend seem to fail.

O Liberty! Thou attribute of God Himself,
We would not lose thee.
We'll tread once more the sacred delf
Where bones we trample wrought the key
That locks the dazzling daylight's mar
And frees the brilliance of that distant star.



HARRY BAERG, ARTIST



UNITED NATIONS

Change

**Hold
Fast**

Adapt

Endure

A capacity to change is indispensable. Equally indispensable is the capacity to hold fast to that which is good. So it is that while we need to adapt our policies to the inevitability of change, we resist aspects of change which counter the enduring principles of moral law.

—John Foster Dulles, November, 1958.

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